

**UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID**  
**FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA**  
**INSTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO DE CIENCIAS DE LAS**  
**RELIGIONES**



**TESIS DOCTORAL**

**La identidad anglicana como eclesiología de  
mestizaje: contextualidad cultural y catolicidad  
relacional antes y después del Pacto Anglicano**

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

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Madrid, 2017



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ANTES Y DESPUÉS DEL PACTO ANGLICANO**

ANGLICAN IDENTITY AS MESTIZAJE ECCLESIOLOGY:  
CULTURAL CONTEXTUALITY AND RELATIONAL CATHOLICITY  
BEFORE AND AFTER THE ANGLICAN COVENANT

AUTOR:

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**Madrid, 2015**

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## AGRADECIMIENTOS

Deseo agradecer a las siguientes personas el apoyo prestado en el proceso de investigación de esta tesis: a los profesores Fernando Amérigo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) y Diego Molina SJ (Facultad de Teología de Granada), por guiarme y animarme a trabajar con rigor y vigor académicos; a John Fairbrother y el equipo de Vaughan Park en Auckland, Nueva Zelanda, por acogerme en su comunidad y ofrecerme un espacio donde aprender de la realidad anglicana neozelandesa; a Erica Longfellow, de New College (Universidad de Oxford), por su hospitalidad y por ayudarme a reconectar con mi antigua universidad, donde he tenido el privilegio de acabar de escribir esta tesis; a los obispos Alan Wilson (Diócesis de Oxford), Jonathan Clark (Diócesis de Southwark) y Stephen Cottrell (Diócesis de Chelmsford), por inspirarme y animarme a profundizar en el espíritu inquisitivo anglicano; a los muchos feligreses de las parroquias en las que he servido en la diócesis de Oxford y en otras partes de la Comunión Anglicana, por ayudarme a tener los pies en la tierra y enseñarme el coste relacional y emocional de vivir en diversidad; y a mi esposo Guy Wynter, sin cuyo apoyo, ánimo y paciencia, jamás hubiera encontrado el tiempo o el espacio para dedicar estos últimos años a esta investigación. De forma directa e indirecta todas estas personas han aportado su grano de arena a este estudio y a sus conclusiones.

*Dedico esta tesis a la memoria de Donald Coggan (1909-2000), en gratitud por su inspiración, ánimos y apoyo personal en los inicios de mi formación dentro del anglicanismo.*

*Soli Deo Gloria*

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## Abreviaturas

ACC	Anglican Consultative Council
Art.	Artículo
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
CEA	Centro de Estudios Anglicanos
CDG	Covenant Design Group
CofE	Church of England
CUP	Cambridge University Press
ELJ	Ecclesiastical Law Journal
GAFCON	Global Anglican Future Conference
JAS	Journal of Anglican Studies
LC	Lambeth Conference
LEP	Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (Richard Hooker)
Nassau	Nassau Covenant Draft (2007)
OUP	Oxford University Press
Ridley	Ridley-Cambridge Covenant Draft (2009)
St. Andrew's	St Andrew's Covenant Draft (2008)
TAC	The Anglican (Communion) Covenant
TEC	The Episcopal Church
TKOC	The Kingdom of Christ (F.D. Maurice)
Tr.	Translation
TS	Theological Studies (Journal)
UCC	United Church of Canada
WR	The Windsor Report





# Capítulo 1. Introducción.

## 1.1 Objetivo del trabajo y breve descripción del *status quaestionis*

En la última década la Comunión Anglicana ha vivido unos de sus años más convulsos y ha experimentado uno de los mayores desafíos de su historia. La crisis provocada por la consagración al episcopado del primer obispo abiertamente homosexual y por las celebraciones litúrgicas de uniones de parejas del mismo sexo en América del Norte, ha revelado grietas profundas en un modelo eclesiológico complejo y diverso. La respuesta oficial a esta crisis ha sido el ‘Pacto Anglicano’, un documento que ha tenido una recepción mixta por parte de las diversas provincias e iglesias nacionales.

Este trabajo de investigación se propone dar respuesta a la pregunta: ‘qué significa ser anglicano/a tras esta crisis’. O dicho de otro modo, si existe una identidad anglicana que pueda ser articulada y compartida por la mayoría de anglicanos actualmente. En caso afirmativo, la pregunta que procede es: ‘de qué tipo de identidad se trata’. Estas dos cuestiones forman parte de un debate identitario con raíces en la Reforma inglesa del siglo XVI, que ha continuado hasta nuestros días, y que se ha magnificado a raíz de la crisis arriba descrita. Tienen, por tanto, un interés objetivo respaldado por al menos dos importantes razones.

En primer lugar, porque reflejan una realidad vital que afecta a la identidad de individuos, comunidades locales e iglesias nacionales repartidas por los cinco continentes (praxis eclesiológica). En este sentido, tiene importantes implicaciones prácticas. Pues entender *qué* significa ser anglicano ofrece además importantes claves sobre *cómo* han de ser las relaciones inter-anglicanas. En la actual crisis esto tiene una relevancia directa en cuanto a la resolución de conflictos desde una identidad compartida. En segundo lugar, porque, como se mostrará en los siguientes capítulos, son cuestiones que han suscitado un gran interés teológico, eclesiológico y sociológico en el ámbito académico.

Además, la cuestión identitaria tiene para mí un interés personal, o subjetivo. Mi experiencia como anglicano y mi interés en la Comunión Anglicana se remonta a 1994. El domingo de Pascua de dicho año fui confirmado en mi iglesia anglicana local por Donald Coggan, quien fuera arzobispo de Canterbury entre 1974 y 1980. Lord Coggan, durante la celebración que sucedió al servicio religioso, me dio una sencilla pero

magistral lección sobre identidad anglicana: ‘los anglicanos somos católicos y reformados a la vez’, afirmó. Estas palabras de un teólogo eminente fueron mi primera clase sobre anglicanismo. Tras esta introducción, mis estudios teológicos primero, y mi trabajo pastoral después, me llevaron a vivir el anglicanismo en numerosos rincones del planeta: Canadá, Estados Unidos, Argentina, Kenia, Australia, Nueva Zelanda y por supuesto Europa. Aunque mi experiencia más significativa fue en Inglaterra, donde residí durante catorce años, nueve de ellos como párroco en la Diócesis de Oxford, también tuve la ocasión de formar parte de iglesias en Escocia, Alemania y España (en este último caso, tanto en la Iglesia Española Reformada Episcopal, como en la Diócesis en Europa de la Iglesia de Inglaterra). En todos estos lugares, unas veces como visitante y observador cuasi-etnográfico, otras veces como miembro activo de dichas comunidades, encontré elementos reconociblemente anglicanos: familiaridad litúrgica, formas de gobernanza similares, un fuerte espíritu comunitario, una himnología común. Mi fascinación por la identidad anglicana en cada uno de estos contextos fue creciendo hasta decidir embarcarme en esta investigación doctoral, movido además, en parte, por la reciente crisis.

## **1.2 Metodología, fuentes y limitaciones**

### ***1.2.1 Metodología***

La complejidad de la cuestión identitaria, desde la perspectiva de las ciencias de las religiones, necesita de un enfoque multidisciplinar. La metodología seguida en esta investigación tiene, por tanto, un carácter mixto. Los elementos metodológicos más importantes son:

- (1) Componente histórico, descriptivo y analítico del desarrollo de la identidad anglicana desde el siglo XVI hasta la actualidad.
- (2) Estudio, registro, descripción, análisis y clasificación de las diversas visiones de identidad anglicana que emergen de los documentos ligados al Pacto Anglicano. El método seguido en este caso es de tipo inductivo, derivando conclusiones generales de articulaciones identitarias particulares, y contrastándolas

- posteriormente con fuentes académicas y con la evidencia de la praxis eclesiológica.
- (3) Análisis sociológico, desde el área disciplinar de estudios culturales, y teológico, principalmente desde la perspectiva de la eclesiología de la comunión, prestando especial atención a ejemplos de interculturalidad (mestizaje e hibridez cultural) en contextos seculares y eclesiales.
  - (4) Finalmente, de forma paralela a este estudio he realizado una investigación estadística re-examinando la membresía, en números, de la Comunión Anglicana, utilizando diversos métodos que son explicados de forma detallada en mi artículo, ‘North to South: a reappraisal of Anglican Communion membership figures’, publicado por la revista *Journal of Anglican Studies*.<sup>1</sup>

### **1.2.2 Fuentes**

Las fuentes empleadas en esta investigación, tanto primarias como secundarias, son de diversas procedencias. *Grosso modo* pueden resumirse en tres tipos de fuentes:

- (1) Documentos históricos (siglos XVI-XIX), fundamentalmente fuentes primarias, de teólogos originales como Richard Hooker (*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*) y F.D. Maurice (*The Kingdom of Christ*);
- (2) Documentos contemporáneos (siglos XX-XXI) de diferentes disciplinas (teología, filosofía, sociología) por autores seculares, anglicanos y de otras confesiones cristianas. En algunos casos estas son fuentes primarias, en otros, secundarias, e incluyen libros, artículos en revistas científicas, artículos en línea y textos de conferencias, entre otros;
- (3) Documentos oficiales e institucionales, tanto históricos, como las resoluciones de las primeras Conferencias de Lambeth (siglo XIX), como contemporáneos, en concreto el ‘Informe de Windsor’, el ‘Pacto Anglicano’, los borradores del Pacto, y las respuestas de las iglesias nacionales a dichos borradores.

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Muñoz, ‘North to South: a reappraisal of Anglican Communion membership figures.’ *JAS*, published online 26 October 2015. Available on: CJO 2015 doi:10.1017/S1740355315000212.



### 1.2.3 Limitaciones

La dificultad de realizar una investigación sobre una realidad actual, presente, viva y cambiante conlleva importantes limitaciones. Es importante destacar que esta aproximación a la identidad anglicana no pretende ofrecer, en ningún caso, una última palabra sobre este asunto. El contexto actual del anglicanismo global se encuentra en un proceso permanente de transformación, donde las alineaciones eclesio-teológicas y culturales de diversas provincias son como placas tectónicas activas, con resultados sísmicos impredecibles. Por ejemplo, durante esta investigación, en octubre de 2014, las iglesias nacionales de EE.UU. (TEC) y otras tantas de África, firmaron un documento conjunto de cooperación, que ratificaba el buen estado de las relaciones inter-anglicanas de estas provincias, cuestionando así la narrativa procedente de las provincias más conservadoras. Otro ejemplo es el encuentro que miembros del GAFCON mantuvieron en Londres en abril de 2015. En él se debatió la formación de una nueva provincia misionera en Inglaterra, formada y financiada por parroquias inglesas conservadoras. Esto no llegó a concretarse y en su lugar, se creó una fundación para apoyar dentro de la Iglesia de Inglaterra los valores conservadores de este grupo. De forma paralela, entre 2014-2015, la actividad del *Anglican Indigenous Network* creció de forma visible, mediante encuentros estratégicos y reflexiones teológicas interesantes. Por último, el inminente encuentro entre los primados de la Comunión Anglicana en Londres, planificado para enero de 2016, es otro ejemplo que apunta a importantes cambios y reformas globales internas en el futuro inmediato.

Además, existen limitaciones metodológicas conectadas, principalmente, con el limitado número de muestras y casos de estudio. Por ejemplo, en la parte de desarrollo histórico me centro exclusivamente en dos autores de dos periodos muy precisos: Hooker en el siglo XVI y Maurice en el siglo XIX. Esto elimina de forma significativa cualquier tipo de estudio comparativo de sus articulaciones de la identidad anglicana con las de otros autores coetáneos. Sin embargo, en ambos casos los estudios están contextualizados. También, en los dos casos, dichos autores cuentan con una trayectoria y un peso teológicos probados e indiscutibles. Ambos son considerados como teólogos anglicanos pioneros y ejemplares; y ambos han sido citados profusamente por miembros

de las diversas tradiciones anglicanas (católica, evangélica, liberal) como fuentes cuasi-canónicas de teología y eclesiología.

Otra de las limitaciones metodológicas está relacionada con el uso de las respuestas oficiales a los borradores del Pacto como fuentes primarias. En ningún momento estas respuestas pretenden dar una definición identitaria oficial o sistemática. En algunos casos, estos documentos aportan elementos novedosos de forma explícita, en otros casos, de forma implícita. El buscar en ellos indicios de articulaciones contextuales sobre identidad anglicana ha sido por tanto un proceso minucioso, complejo y con múltiples limitaciones.

Existe, por último, el riesgo de atribuir al fenómeno cultural un mayor papel del que realmente tiene. En el debate identitario el ala más conservadora apela a las diferencias teológicas como las principales fuentes de las recientes tensiones. Estos grupos argumentan que existe una verdad (teológica) objetiva, fundada en las Escrituras y la tradición cristiana, que actúa como test de inclusión o exclusión eclesial. Para ellos la cultura es irrelevante, o al menos juega un papel muy secundario. En el otro extremo, dentro del ala más liberal de la Comunión, se hace una lectura revisionista desde la perspectiva del poder. Para ellos, la causa central de estas tensiones son las dinámicas de poder entre dirigentes eclesiales de distintos países que buscan ampliar sus ámbitos de influencia. Aunque es cierto que estos dos elementos, teología y poder, juegan un importante papel en las desavenencias inter-anglicanas, los choques culturales y las transiciones culturales actuales tienen un impacto tan omnipresente como sutil.

Desde el punto de vista de los estudios culturales y de la sociología de la religión, la cultura es un agente moldeador de la teología. Toda articulación teológica emana de un contexto cultural y se expresa desde un lenguaje cultural concreto. La teología sin-cultura es un oxímoron. Por otra parte, los cambios de paradigmas culturales, así como la confrontación con diferentes paradigmas culturales, según evidencian los hechos recientes, han exacerbado las dinámicas de poder, o al menos han sido utilizadas como excusa para afirmar el poder en contextos locales y globales. El fenómeno cultural, como se pone de relieve en este trabajo, a pesar de sus inherentes limitaciones, ejerce un importante peso en la actual crisis.

### 1.3 Estructura de la tesis

La tesis está compuesta por tres apartados o bloques generales, cada uno con un énfasis concreto en su aproximación al fenómeno identitario, y en cada caso edificado sobre los bloques anteriores. En resumen, las tres partes son:

**Identidad Histórica → Identidad Contemporánea → Identidad Cultural (Mestizaje)**

La progresión histórico-lineal y el análisis evolutivo de la identidad anglicana forman parte de la lógica interna de la investigación. A continuación, se resume el contenido de estos tres bloques:

#### *1.3.1 Identidad Histórica*

Este trabajo historiográfico explora el desarrollo del concepto de identidad anglicana en dos momentos históricos de transiciones socioculturales importantes: el siglo XVI (Primera Reforma, Isabel I, Richard Hooker), y el siglo XIX (Segunda Reforma, Imperio Británico-Victoriano, F.D. Maurice). El objetivo de este apartado es ofrecer unas pinceladas históricas y eclesiológicas del anglicanismo a través de la mirada de dos influyentes teólogos, y no una panorámica completa de la historia del anglicanismo. Para ello se hace referencia a un extenso aparato bibliográfico. Este apartado se ha incluido por varias razones. Por una parte, por el contexto de esta investigación, desarrollada en una universidad española, donde el anglicanismo en general, y la eclesiología anglicana en particular, no han sido objeto de estudio académico. Avalado por la opinión de tutores y de los dos co-directores de tesis, he considerado oportuno incluir estos capítulos. Por otra parte, los capítulos 2, 3 y 4, ilustran una serie de principios eclesiológicos y teológicos que han sido fundamentales en la formación de la identidad anglicana y que continúan dando forma al anglicanismo contemporáneo. Por último, los dos teólogos estudiados, articularon sus reflexiones sobre identidad eclesiológica como respuesta a transiciones culturales muy significativas. La dimensión de contextualidad cultural, como se mostrará a lo largo de la tesis, ha sido y es parte intrínseca del ADN anglicano. Uno de los objetivos de este apartado es mostrar cómo las articulaciones teóricas de eclesiología de Hooker y Maurice contienen indicios de mestizaje teológico y eclesiológico muy cercanos al modelo de interculturalidad explorado en la tercera parte de la tesis.

### ***1.3.2 Identidad Contemporánea***

Este apartado explora la evolución del anglicanismo contemporáneo, de ser una Iglesia nacional hasta el siglo XVIII (Inglaterra e Irlanda), a convertirse en una familia internacional de iglesias. Esta evolución modifica la identidad anglicana de forma sustancial en varios niveles. En este bloque se describe el desarrollo de la identidad anglicana contemporánea desde la primera Conferencia de Lambeth (1867) hasta el Pacto Anglicano (2009). En el capítulo 5, se ofrece un bosquejo del desarrollo de la identidad anglicana a través de las diversas Conferencias de Lambeth hasta la actualidad, se define el concepto de identidad eclesiológica y se dibuja una imagen de la Comunión Anglicana actual, geográfica y demográfica. Este último punto es de especial interés en la actualidad y los resultados de dicha investigación ofrecen datos nuevos y relevantes que cuestionan la narrativa prevalente del auge anglicano en los países del hemisferio sur.

El capítulo 6 se centra en articulaciones recientes de la identidad anglicana basadas en documentos oficiales (Windsor, Pacto, respuestas oficiales) y críticas teológicas a dichos documentos. Esta parte de la investigación contiene elementos originales, pues hasta la actualidad no existe otro estudio comparativo que analice las respuestas oficiales a los borradores del Pacto. En estas respuestas se dilucidan, de forma explícita e implícita, articulaciones identitarias desde múltiples contextos nacionales y locales. Además de ofrecer una lectura crítica de estos documentos, se enumeran los principales signos eclesiológicos que emanan de dichas respuestas. El capítulo concluye con un resumen de los puntos de convergencia y divergencia articulados por las diversas iglesias nacionales. Estas reflexiones conducen a la tercera parte de la tesis, centrada en el fenómeno de mestizaje anglicano como identidad eclesio-cultural.

### ***1.3.3 Identidad Cultural***

Esta parte contiene la tesis de la tesis. En ella se explora, desde la perspectiva de los estudios culturales y la sociología de la religión, el papel fundamental que la cultura juega en la identidad anglicana histórica y contemporánea, con referencia a la experiencia de mestizaje teológico y cultural.

En el capítulo 7 se analizan las referencias al fenómeno cultural en el Pacto y en las respuestas a los diversos borradores. También esta parte de la investigación contiene elementos originales, pues en ella se evalúa la importancia que las distintas provincias eclesiales dan a ‘lo cultural’, en contraste con el Pacto en sí. Además se analizan los diversos choques, a nivel global, entre paradigmas culturales, principalmente, entre modernismo y postmodernismo, y postmodernismo y postcolonialismo.

En el capítulo 8 se sugieren dos claves para entender el anglicanismo: una contextualidad cultural y una catolicidad relacional. Otros autores han definido estos dos pilares con otros nombres y énfasis (ej. Harris: ‘catolicidad apostólica en momentos vernáculos’; Percy: ‘catolicidad y particularidad’). Además, se ofrecen ejemplos de rearticulaciones de ciertos elementos clásicos de la teología anglicana (ej. el *lex orandi*, el método hookeriano, y el concepto de adiáfora) desde una contextualidad cultural auténtica; y se tratan los desafíos que una catolicidad fundamentalmente relacional plantean en un mundo globalizado y multicultural.

Por último, en el capítulo 9, se ofrece una propuesta original y novedosa desde el punto de vista anglicano al debate identitario. En base a los resultados de la investigación, se sugiere una nueva narrativa para entender la identidad anglicana desde el punto de vista del mestizaje (o hibridación), basada en una eclesiología de mestizaje. El mestizaje como concepto cultural, no solo racial, y definido como un tercer espacio en el que conviven diversas culturas y tradiciones, no solo una mezcla homogénea de ellas (cf. Virgilio Elizondo, John Rossing y Peter Wade).

Aplicado a la identidad anglicana, se pone de relieve que el mestizaje teológico y eclesiológico (mezcla de lo católico y lo reformado/protestante) forman parte del ADN anglicano desde su génesis. En la actualidad, además, dicho mestizaje es especialmente visible en la diversidad cultural (particular y global) del anglicanismo. Este concepto de mestizaje no solo describe una dimensión fundamental del anglicanismo, sino que ofrece retos, derivados de la convivencia intercultural, y oportunidades, como el de la madurez eclesiológica y la celebración de la diversidad, de cara al futuro.

**I. IDENTIDAD HISTÓRICA:  
EL DESARROLLO DE LA IDENTIDAD  
ANGLICANA EN LOS SIGLOS XVI Y XIX**



## **Capítulo 2. Las reformas eclesiales inglesas del siglo XVI**

El siglo XVI fue testigo de una de las transiciones más significativas de la historia de Europa y el mundo. Marcó el fin de la Edad Media y el principio de la Moderna. Multitud de cambios sociales, políticos, económicos, y también religiosos, hicieron temblar los cimientos del viejo continente. Históricamente, fue una época de cambios revolucionarios. El continente americano fue ‘descubierto’ por los europeos a finales del siglo XV y su percepción del mundo cambió de forma radical; por no mencionar el impacto económico y demográfico que dicho descubrimiento tuvo en toda Europa. En la ciencia, los descubrimientos astronómicos de Copérnico y Galileo desafiaron la percepción hasta entonces geocéntrica del universo. Esto contrastó con el incipiente antropocentrismo surgido de un renovado interés por la filosofía y el arte grecorromanos, y del redescubrimiento humano de su propio potencial. Era el amanecer del humanismo como corriente de pensamiento, abogada por académicos humanistas como Erasmo de Rotterdam en los Países Bajos, Antonio de Nebrija en España, o Tomás Moro en Inglaterra. Dentro de las innovaciones técnicas, el invento de la imprenta jugó un papel fundamental en la promoción y divulgación de las nuevas ideas.

Uno de los cambios más revolucionarios del siglo XVI es lo que se ha denominado en los libros de historia como la Reforma protestante. En resumen, esta reforma fue el proceso por el cual territorios, sobre todo de centro y norte de Europa, rompieron su vínculo político-eclesial con Roma, sede del poder religioso de la iglesia occidental, y declararon su independencia político-religiosa, y por tanto económica y fiscal, del papado. Aunque la reforma eclesial estuvo claramente ligada a cuestiones de tipo teológico y doctrinal, no podemos ignorar su dimensión política. Tampoco las tensiones que a lo largo de los siglos fueron aumentando entre las monarquías europeas y el creciente poder político y económico del papado. De hecho, podría decirse que los cismas religiosos del siglo XVI fueron producto del matrimonio oportunista entre dos aliados: gobernantes nacionales que reclamaban mayor soberanía política, económica y religiosa sobre sus territorios, y hombres de Iglesia (sacerdotes, teólogos y religiosos)



decepcionados con las jerarquías eclesiásticas de su época, y que estaban convencidos de la necesidad de cambio y reforma dentro de la Iglesia.

Sin embargo, estos cambios no fueron sencillos, ni muchas de sus implicaciones previsibles. Cuando Martín Lutero, en 1517, clavó sus noventa y cinco tesis en la puerta de la catedral de Wittenberg, inició un proceso de deconstrucción eclesial que el propio Lutero no pudo anticipar. La forma en que sus seguidores reaccionaron ante sus nuevas enseñanzas y se revelaron ante las antiguas, y la manera en que Lutero gestionó esta transición social y espiritual, no componen unos de los episodios más brillantes de la historia. Al fin y al cabo, Martín Lutero, al igual que otros reformadores centroeuropeos, no era más que un teólogo y un predicador que, de un día para otro, tras una crisis personal de fe, se encontró deconstruyendo una poderosa y engranada maquinaria eclesial, la de la Iglesia medieval, pero sin una estrategia clara de cómo desarrollar esta labor.

La revuelta de los campesinos en las zonas rurales de Alemania, subrayaron para Lutero y sus colegas que una reforma eclesiológica y teológica no podía avanzar ignorando las realidades sociales y económicas de sus días. También comprendieron muy rápido que la deconstrucción de un sistema de creencias existente dejaba un vacío que, en el peor de los casos, podía desembocar en caos social y, en el mejor, en confusión teológica. De hecho, fue en parte gracias a la revuelta de los campesinos, como el reformador alemán se dio cuenta de la necesidad urgente de reconstruir la Iglesia y la teología que anteriormente había derribado. Ciertas doctrinas fueron redefinidas y clarificadas mediante las ‘Confesiones de Fe’; se erigieron nuevas estructuras institucionales para suplantarse a las antiguas; se estableció un nuevo orden eclesial y se redactaron e instituyeron nuevas liturgias.

Un proceso similar se dio a lo largo de toda Europa central y del norte, e Inglaterra no fue una excepción. Iniciada por el cisma de Enrique VIII con Roma, la Reforma inglesa no se consolidó propiamente hasta el reinado de su hija Isabel, cincuenta años más tarde. También en Gran Bretaña, la Reforma pasó por un proceso similar de deconstrucción y reconstrucción, pero con matices muy singulares.

## 2.1. Enrique VIII y el cisma con Roma

Uno de los ejemplos más claros de la politización de la religión en la Reforma protestante, tuvo lugar durante el reinado de Enrique VIII en Inglaterra. Esta categoría, la de politización de la religión, no obstante, es un juicio anacrónico. Pues en el siglo XVI, y hasta bien entrado el XX en algunas partes de Europa, la unión indivisible entre Estado e Iglesia formaba parte del esquema político, legal, cultural y filosófico de las naciones. Nadie podía concebir la separación entre lo civil y lo religioso, entre el poder *terrenal* y el *espiritual*, pues ambos estaban intrínsecamente relacionados. Los monarcas ejercían su autoridad por disposición divina (*Dei gratia*), y su misión era la de gobernar defendiendo los principios de la fe cristiana. Así pues, no es que la religión fuera un ente independiente, que pudiera contaminarse por las ambiciones y/o estrategias políticas del momento. Es que las instituciones eclesiales y civiles compartían una misma visión y trabajaban con una única misión. Eran las dos caras de la moneda única del poder.

En este contexto, la estrategia de Enrique VIII de romper sus relaciones con Roma y autoproclamarse cabeza de la Iglesia de Inglaterra en 1534, fue primero y sobre todo, un acto político. Si bien es cierto que el cisma en sí se produjo como consecuencia directa de la negativa papal de acceder a la petición de Enrique de anular su matrimonio con Catalina de Aragón, la declaración real siguiente se fundamentó en precedentes recientes. Durante toda la década de los veinte, el rey controlaba *de facto* Iglesia y Estado en Inglaterra con el beneplácito papal.<sup>2</sup> La ‘Ley de Supremacía’, por la que el monarca se autodefinía como *cabeza suprema* de la Iglesia, era una consecuencia lógica para el monarca de esta práctica. La nueva ley, sin embargo, daba un paso más pues garantizaba la independencia político-económica de la monarquía inglesa ante Roma, y tenía importantísimas implicaciones jurídicas y jurisdiccionales. La más importante era que, a partir de ahora, el rey se convertía en la instancia superior de justicia, mientras que Roma perdía su competencia como tribunal de apelación sobre el territorio inglés.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), 98.

<sup>3</sup> Aquí Enrique se sirvió tanto del Parlamento (poder político) como de la Convocación de clérigos (poder religioso) para afirmar la legitimidad de su independencia y supremacía. Ver la ‘Ley de Supremacía’ (*Act of Supremacy*) en J. Robson Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents, A.D. 1485-1603, Parts 1485-1603* (Cambridge: CUP, 1930), 46.

No pretendo en este capítulo entrar en la complejidad de los argumentos jurídicos que llevaron a Enrique a declararse jefe supremo de la Iglesia inglesa. Tampoco a evaluar los argumentos teológicos en los que se apoyó para su ruptura con Roma.<sup>4</sup> Estos últimos han sido tratados de manera extensa por historiadores y teólogos como MacCulloch, Elton, Haugaard y Chadwick entre otros.<sup>5</sup> Lo más significativo de este episodio, en este período formativo del anglicanismo, es que Enrique nunca vio su independencia de Roma como una ruptura con el pasado, sino como la recuperación de una autonomía nacional perdida y de unos derechos que le correspondían a él, pero que habían sido usurpados por el papado. En este sentido, los tímidos pasos reformadores de Enrique tuvieron siempre una vocación continuista, no de cambio.

La supresión y cierre de los monasterios y la creación paralela de nuevas catedrales, fueron un eje central de su reforma. Esta estrategia buscaba restar influencia a lo que desde la monarquía se percibía como el excesivo poder y la corrupción endémica de las comunidades monacales. Aunque de paso también sirvió para engordar las arcas reales. Reforma estructural, por tanto, con repercusiones económicas directas.<sup>6</sup>

La reforma de Enrique fue más una ‘revolución política’<sup>7</sup> que una renovación religiosa. El rey permitió ciertas innovaciones en la actividad litúrgica de la Iglesia, de las cuales la más importante fue el que las iglesias parroquiales pudieran disponer de una Biblia en inglés.<sup>8</sup> También flirteó, especialmente en los últimos años de su reinado, con un luteranismo moderado. Sin embargo, incluso al final de su vida, Enrique se mantuvo fiel al grueso de las doctrinas católicas. En los *Seis Artículos de Religión* de 1539, el rey mostró de nuevo el continuismo doctrinal de su Iglesia afirmando creencias ya superadas por los reformadores protestantes, entre ellas la doctrina de la presencia real de Cristo en la eucaristía, el celibato forzoso del clero, o la confesión auricular.<sup>9</sup>

El no sometimiento a los *Artículos*, por parte del clero de ideología reformada, o a la ‘Ley de Supremacía’, por parte del clero más leal a Roma, venía acompañado de una

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<sup>4</sup> El argumento principal venía de mano de reformadores centroeuropeos como Lutero, Melancton, Zwinglio o Bucero, defensores todos de la noción medieval de la *res publica Christiana* y del derecho divino de príncipes y reyes de tener total autonomía en sus territorios en el gobierno de todo lo temporal y espiritual. Cf. G.R. Elton, *Reformation Europe, 1517-1559* (London: Collins, 1963), 56-65.

<sup>5</sup> Ver bibliografía.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Chadwick, *Reformation*, 104-113.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 97.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 114.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, 46; 95-98.

serie de severas medidas punitivas. A nivel anecdótico, baste citar que en vísperas del quinto matrimonio de Enrique VIII, y de manera simultánea, el rey ordenó ejecutar a tres fieles *papistas* y envió a la hoguera a tres protestantes, dando la inequívoca señal de que en su nuevo modelo de Iglesia no había lugar ni para los *romanos* que apelaban a una autoridad extranjera en cuestiones de fe, ni para los *protestantes* que buscaban romper con las tradiciones católicas que el monarca defendía.<sup>10</sup>

La identidad, por tanto, del anglicanismo embrionario de Enrique VIII, se cimentó sobre la base de una doble negación, según la cual la Iglesia inglesa no era *ni* romana (o papista), *ni* protestante. Otros la han definido como un '*Catholicism without a Pope*'<sup>11</sup>. Esta eclesiología enriqueana sería desafiada por las generaciones siguientes en los sucesivos procesos de reforma que vivió la Iglesia inglesa a lo largo del siglo XVI.

## 2.2. Eduardo VI y la reforma cranmeriana

Eduardo aún no había cumplido los diez años cuando ascendió al trono en enero de 1547. Hijo de la tercera esposa de Enrique, Jane Seymour, cuya familia se había convertido al protestantismo, el joven Eduardo se rodeó de consejeros protestantes que, en nombre del rey, pusieron en marcha la reforma de la Iglesia. El entonces arzobispo de Canterbury, Tomás Cranmer, jugó un papel decisivo en esta reforma.

En este período se realizaron cambios revolucionarios en línea con lo que se venía haciendo en otros territorios protestantes de Europa central y del norte. El Parlamento legisló de inmediato que en todas las iglesias del reino se leyera la Biblia en lengua vernácula y se comulgara en las dos especies de pan y vino. Se anuló el celibato forzoso del clero, y se permitió tanto la impresión de literatura protestante, como que en los templos se quitasen todas las imágenes sacras. Pero lo más significativo no llegaría hasta 1549. En ese año se publicó el *Book of Common Prayer*, la primera liturgia completa en lengua inglesa que se convertiría en la base de futuras liturgias anglicanas.

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Church of England 1533-1603', en Stephen Platten (ed.), *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003), 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibíd.* 23.

El nuevo compendio litúrgico era obra de Cranmer, que se inspiró en fuentes luteranas europeas, en los ritos autóctonos de Sarum<sup>12</sup> y en sus propios estudios de liturgia patristica, para su elaboración. En él se incluían tanto los ritos para maitines y vísperas, que se convirtieron en los dos pilares devocionales de la vida parroquial, como la administración de la santa cena (eucaristía) y el bautismo, los dos sacramentos dominicales. Además, se incluían ritos pastorales para el matrimonio, la confirmación, la visita de enfermos y el sepelio, y un extenso catálogo de oraciones colecta, para cada domingo y día de guardar, a la vez que un leccionario para el año litúrgico.

La renovación litúrgica se convirtió, durante el reinado de Eduardo VI, en el cimiento principal de su reforma. Esta renovación afectaba de forma directa el día a día de la vida de sus súbditos y sus experiencias religiosas. Las nuevas ideas teológicas se transmitían a través de la liturgia dominical, que ahora se hacía en inglés, para que el pueblo pudiera participar plenamente de los cultos. Así pues, los distintos apartados de la celebración de la santa cena, iban precedidos de extensos discursos teológicos con una función pedagógica. Por ejemplo, en la invitación a la confesión, se explicaba la doctrina de la justificación por fe, y en la invitación a la mesa del Señor, la doctrina de la comunión espiritual en el cuerpo y la sangre de Cristo. La primera doctrina, *sola fide*, luterana; y la segunda, de la presencia eucarística, calvinista.<sup>13</sup>

En el mismo *Book of Common Prayer*, Cranmer establecía el razonamiento lógico de su compendio litúrgico, así como una crítica a aquellos que simpatizaban con ideas más tradicionalistas o más progresistas. En el apartado *Of ceremonies*, el arzobispo justifica su liturgia con estas palabras:

*And whereas, in this our time, the minds of men be so diverse, that some think it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their Ceremonies (they be so addicted to their old customs;) and again, on the other side, some be so new fangle, that they would innovate all thing, and so do despise the old that nothing can like them but that is new: It was thought expedient not so much to*

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<sup>12</sup> El rito de Sarum, del siglo XI, aunque tuvo su origen en la catedral de Salisbury (sur de Inglaterra), se usó de manera extensa a lo largo de las Islas Británicas durante toda la Edad Media. Cf. A. Harford Pearson (ed.), *The Sarum Missal* (London: The Church Printing Company, 1884).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther: an introduction to his thought* (Londres: Collins, 1972), 162-165; Alistar E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 67-83; Juan Calvino, *Institución de la Religión Cristiana* (Rijswijk: FELR, 1967), 1070-1123.

*have respect how to please and satisfy either of these parties, as how to please God, and profit them both. And yet, lest any man should be offended, here be certain causes rendered why some of the accustomed Ceremonies be put away, and some be retained and kept still.*<sup>14</sup>

Los razonamientos que siguen se centran en, primero, el excesivo número de ceremonias que habían proliferado en sus días, y segundo, que muchas de ellas animaban la superstición y la idolatría. Se hacía por tanto necesario eliminarlas de la vida litúrgica. Por el contrario, ante los que no querían ningún tipo de ritual, Cranmer defiende la importancia de una liturgia reformada como garantía del orden y la disciplina en la Iglesia.

Sin embargo, lo más significativo del modelo litúrgico inglés bajo Eduardo VI, es que planta las bases para una Iglesia nacional reformada que busca mantener un equilibrio creativo entre lo antiguo y lo moderno, el continuismo y el cambio. Y lo hace a través, no de una confesión doctrinal, como era el caso de las iglesias protestantes del resto de Europa, sino de una obra devocional: el *Book of Common Prayer*.

### **2.3. María Tudor y la reinstauración del catolicismo romano**

El reinado de Eduardo VI fue breve. Tras su fallecimiento en 1553, sus reformas fueron abortadas con la llegada al poder de su hermana María, hija de Enrique y Catalina. María I gobernó apenas cinco años, de 1553 a 1558. Sin embargo, en este corto período, logró revertir todos los cambios realizados en el reinado anterior, abolió las leyes reformadoras aprobadas por el anterior Parlamento, y volvió a implantar el rito romano en el país. Muchos de los reformadores se exiliaron a zonas protestantes de Europa y otros tantos fueron condenados a la hoguera por herejes, entre ellos el arzobispo Cranmer. Más de dos mil clérigos fueron destituidos de sus parroquias por haber contraído matrimonio.

En la literatura propagandística posterior, María fue bautizada con el seudónimo de *Bloody Mary*, María la Sanguinaria, dada su obsesión por limpiar el país de protestantes y su implacable persecución de obispos y teólogos reformados. Sus acciones, no obstante, fueron contraproducentes. En vez de ganarse el apoyo de la población, el

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<sup>14</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer 1549* (New York: Church Kalendar Press, 1881), 286.

renovado sometimiento a Roma y la masacre de leales nacionales sirvieron para alimentar la causa de la Reforma. Mientras que cinco años antes, el protestantismo se había asociado a robos y destrucción en las iglesias, y a irreverencia y anarquía religiosa, ahora se empezaba a identificar con ‘*virtue, honesty, and loyal English resistance to a half-foreign government.*’<sup>15</sup>

El legado de María duró tanto como el reinado de la reina católica inglesa. A su muerte, en 1558, su hermana Isabel ascendió al trono y retomó las reformas políticas y religiosas allí donde su hermano Eduardo las había dejado.

## **2.4. Isabel I y la consolidación de la reforma anglicana**

En contra de la opinión popular, según la cual el anglicanismo fue un invento de Enrique VIII, el consenso académico actual de historiadores y teólogos es que la verdadera arquitecta del anglicanismo fue su hija Isabel I. Para algunos, ‘*the accession of Elizabeth was the beginning of the English Reformation, not its end.*’<sup>16</sup> Y es que, durante su largo reinado (1558-1603), Isabel fue capaz de consolidar una reforma revolucionaria que cambiaría la faz del cristianismo inglés para siempre.

Cuando Isabel sube al trono, lo hace tras décadas de división interna, de intrigas políticas y de sangrientos ajustes de cuenta, disfrazados con argumentos legales y religiosos. Lo primero que hizo la nueva reina fue convencer al Parlamento para que rescatase la antigua ‘Ley de Supremacía’ real. Isabel, no obstante, rechazó el título de ‘cabeza’ de la Iglesia, y en su lugar recibió el de *supreme governor*, o ‘gobernante suprema’. Lo siguiente, en 1559, fue aprobar el *Act of Uniformity*, una nueva ley de uniformidad religiosa, inspirada en la de su hermano Eduardo, que pondría fin a años de lucha.

La ‘Ley de Uniformidad’ fue un instrumento clave del éxito de la reforma isabelina. En un contexto religioso diverso y complejo, donde diferentes facciones eclesiales protestantes, desde luteranos hasta calvinistas, y otras tantas católicas, desde leales a Roma hasta los fieles a la supremacía real, buscaban influir en la dirección de la Iglesia nacional, la uniformidad se convirtió en el principal reto. Isabel, que quería evitar

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<sup>15</sup> Chadwick, *Reformation*, 128.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibíd.* 136. Cf. MacCulloch, ‘The Church of England’, 27.

una nueva persecución religiosa y más derramamiento de sangre, buscó el mayor consenso posible entre protestantes moderados y católicos fieles a la monarquía, para implantar su reforma. El resultado fue lo que en los libros de historia se ha llamado el ‘acuerdo isabelino’, o *Elizabethan Settlement*, un gran pacto nacional que sentó los cimientos del anglicanismo presente y futuro.

En el centro de este gran acuerdo y de la ‘Ley de Uniformidad’, se hallaba una nueva liturgia, basada en el *Book of Common Prayer* de Cranmer, pero con algunas modificaciones. El nuevo *Libro de Oración Común*, de uso obligatorio en todas las iglesias del reino, fue un claro ejemplo de pragmatismo litúrgico y una síntesis de continuismo e innovación. El continuismo, en cuanto a preservar los elementos claves y reconocibles de la liturgia católica, hizo que los nuevos ritos se ganaran el apoyo de la mayor parte de la población, y en parte aseguró el éxito de la reforma isabelina. Es en este sentido que la nueva liturgia tuvo un carácter pragmático.<sup>17</sup>

Pero no todo fue continuismo. Las innovaciones eran claras: una liturgia y una Biblia vernáculas, una administración de la eucaristía en dos especies (pan y vino), un énfasis teológico en una sacramentología y soteriología reformadas, y un clero que, de nuevo, podía contraer matrimonio. Los cambios se hicieron ver, además, en la apariencia interior de los templos. En los *injunctions* o requerimientos legales emanados de la ‘Ley de Uniformidad’, se exigía al clero que:

*Take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables and candlesticks, trundles or rolls of ware, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of fained miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.*<sup>18</sup>

La implementación de estos cambios fue lenta y necesitó, en muchos casos, de numerosas *visitations*, o inspecciones diocesanas de obispos y/o arcedianos, para que se cumpliesen en la práctica. Como caso anecdótico, más no por ello inusual, se puede mencionar el de

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<sup>17</sup> Eamon Duffy, ‘The Shock of Change: continuity and discontinuity in the Elizabethan Church of England’, en Platten, *Anglicanism*, 44.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibíd.* 46.



la villa de Bishop Stotford. En este pueblo inglés, entre 1547-48, la iglesia parroquial acató la reforma de Eduardo VI, despojándose de todos los útiles litúrgicos y ornamentos católico-romanos, blanqueando las paredes del templo y reemplazando el altar de piedra por una mesa de madera para la celebración de la santa cena. Cuando la reina María reinstaura el catolicismo romano en el país en 1553, los feligreses volvieron a colocar los implementos ceremoniales católicos y el misal romano. Y en 1559, con Isabel I, se deshicieron de nuevo del altar de piedra, un año más tarde eliminaron la reja que separaba el presbiterio de la nave central de la iglesia, y en 1562 reemplazaron el cáliz de oro por una copa para las celebraciones eucarísticas. Sin embargo, no es hasta 1580, que se desprendieron finalmente de las vidrieras e imágenes religiosas, y de los libros litúrgicos y vestimentas ceremoniales católicas, que habían guardado a pesar de las inspecciones diocesanas y ordenamientos judiciales que les obligaba a deshacerse de estos artefactos.<sup>19</sup>

La maquinaria entera de Iglesia-Estado pusieron todos los recursos necesarios al servicio de la reforma y, aunque por lo general se optó por la persuasión, la ‘Ley de Uniformidad’ no dudó en legislar medidas punitivas para aquellos clérigos que no obedecieran las nuevas directrices litúrgicas. Los castigos iban desde la prisión sin fianza por un mínimo de seis meses hasta cadena perpetua para los infractores que reincidieran en negarse a utilizar el *Libro de Oración Común*, o predicaran en contra de la reforma.<sup>20</sup>

Junto al *Libro de Oración Común*, con su importante carga pedagógica destinada principalmente a los laicos, se redactó otro documento dedicado a explicar con mayor claridad los principios doctrinales fundamentales de la Iglesia de Inglaterra. Los ‘Treinta y nueve artículos de la religión cristiana’<sup>21</sup> tenían su origen en los ‘Cuarenta y dos artículos’ redactados por Cranmer al final del reinado de Eduardo VI, con algunas variaciones. La primera versión isabelina de esta declaración doctrinal se hizo en 1562, con ciertas concesiones a los católicos. La segunda, y final, se publicó y aprobó en 1571, con un claro fin, reflejado en la introducción de los artículos de fe:

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. ‘The Impact of the Elizabethan Settlement’, *Teaching History* 124 (2006), 13.

<sup>20</sup> En la Ley de Uniformidad se lee: ‘for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions coming or arising in one whole year next after his conviction; and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize.[...] for his second offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year [...] the third time, shall be deprived, ipso facto, of all his spiritual promotions, and also shall suffer imprisonment during his life.’ H. Gee y W.J. Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 460.

<sup>21</sup> La versión de los artículos utilizada aquí se encuentra en Mark A. Noll, *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation* (Leicester: Apollos, 1991), 211-227.

*Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces and the whole clergy, in the Convocation held at London in the year of our Lord God 1562 [...] for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.*<sup>22</sup>

Los Artículos tenían como misión atar los cabos sueltos de la reforma inglesa, dentro de la visión unificadora de Isabel I. Sin embargo, al contrario que otras confesiones de fe promulgadas por las iglesias protestantes europeas, estos artículos apostaron por una unidad capaz de integrar la diversidad teológica moderada del período. Así pues, algunos artículos afirmaban la doctrina trinitaria católica (art. 1-5) y el papel de los credos de la Iglesia primitiva (art. 8). Mientras otros resaltaban enseñanzas protestantes como la autoridad y suficiencia de las Sagradas Escrituras para la salvación (art. 6), la justificación por fe (art. 11), la comunión en dos especies (art. 30), y la abolición del celibato del clero (art. 32). En cuanto a teología sacramental, los Artículos ofrecían una definición general de los sacramentos inspirada por el de confesiones luteranas (art. 25), mientras que las referencias al bautismo (art. 27) y a la santa cena (art. 28) contenían claros matices calvinistas.

En algunos de los artículos se condenaban ciertas enseñanzas católicas medievales, como la transubstanciación (art. 28) y el sacrificio eucarístico (art. 31), con un tono polémico propio de las controversias del momento. Y otros reflejaban el contexto propio de la reforma isabelina, consagrando el uso obligatorio del *Libro de las Homilías* en las iglesias (art. 35), afirmando el orden ministerial de obispos y presbíteros (art. 36), y el papel de los magistrados civiles (art. 37).

Uno de los artículos más significativos, a la hora de reflejar el contexto histórico-teológico de la reforma isabelina, es el artículo 34, titulado ‘*Of the traditions of the Church*’. En él se afirma que:

*It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike, for at all times they have been diverse and may be changed according to the*

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<sup>22</sup> G.R. Evans y J. Robert Wright (eds.), *The Anglican Tradition, A Handbook of Resources* (London: SPCK, 1991), 155-156.

*diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing is ordained against God's Word. [...] Every particular or national church has authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church ordained by man's authority, so that all things are done to edifying.*<sup>23</sup>

Este artículo tiene muchas lecturas. La lectura reformada según la cual se afirma el principio de *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*, en lo concerniente a las prácticas eclesiales. Este principio, como veremos en sucesivos capítulos, continúa siendo crucial en la praxis del anglicanismo contemporáneo. Una lectura ecuménica (y pragmática) que reconoce la diversidad en las formas como algo legítimo, en el contexto de las notables diferencias entre las iglesias protestantes europeas. Una política, que en el contexto del pacto isabelino, sirve para legitimar los cambios impulsados por la reforma. Y, conectado con esta última, una lectura 'anglicana', pues la insistencia en introducir un artículo que afirme (a) el uso de ceremonias y ritos (asociados a la tradición católica), (b) siempre que no estén en conflicto con las Sagradas Escrituras (haciendo un guiño a los protestantes europeos), supone una afirmación de la síntesis isabelina.

Lo más significativo de este artículo, no obstante, es una obviedad implícita. Esto es, que los usos litúrgicos dentro de la renovada *ecclesia anglicana*, son parte de la *esse*, y no solo de la *bene esse*, del anglicanismo. Esta defensa indirecta del *Libro de Oración Común*, refleja el espíritu de la reforma isabelina. Un espíritu que aboga por una unidad respetuosa de la diversidad, y donde sus miembros no son obligados a firmar una declaración confesional, como era el caso de otras iglesias protestantes europeas. El anglicanismo de Isabel I optó por la vía litúrgica, y afirmó el antiguo principio del *lex orandi lex credendi*, al que volveremos a referirnos en capítulos posteriores. Desde este momento, la Iglesia de Inglaterra, construye sus cimientos eclesiológicos sobre el principio de la oración común. Esta dimensión litúrgica se convertirá en una de las claves de la identidad anglicana isabelina, y será uno de los aspectos que la distinguirá de otras iglesias reformadas europeas.

Como ya he apuntado anteriormente, la identidad anglicana durante el reinado de Isabel I se gestó en un campo de batalla ideológico, movido por las aspiraciones de quienes buscaban volver atrás (anglo-católicos) y quienes buscaban avanzar aún más en

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<sup>23</sup> Noll, *Confessions*, 224-225.

la reforma (calvinistas). Aunque la respuesta de la reina ha sido criticada por algunos como un compromiso político-teológico,<sup>24</sup> donde las concesiones hechas a ambas partes resultaron en una síntesis eclesiológica impracticable, lo cierto es que la reforma isabelina apostó por una integración creativa e intencional de catolicismo y protestantismo, bajo un mismo techo. Este modelo de Iglesia inclusiva de la diversidad, será defendido en la segunda mitad el siglo XVI por Richard Hooker, el principal apologeta de la reformada Iglesia de Inglaterra, a quien dedicaré el siguiente capítulo.

## 2.5. Conclusión

A modo de conclusión, decir que el desarrollo de la identidad religiosa anglicana en el siglo XVI vino marcado por un contexto histórico convulso y complejo. Como apunta Haugaard: *'In a thirty-year period from the latter portion of Henry's reign to the opening years of Elizabeth's, no less than six varieties of Christian faith and practice successively prevailed in the English Church.'*<sup>25</sup> Con Isabel I, las tensiones iniciales entre continuismo y cambio, inclinaron la balanza más hacia el lado de la reforma. Aún así, para muchos reformadores ingleses y europeos, la Reforma inglesa nunca se consideró lo suficientemente profunda. Tampoco los tradicionalistas católicos quedaron satisfechos con la dirección marcada por la Reforma. Aunque la reina escribiera al emperador Carlos V, defendiendo que los ingleses seguían *'no novel or strange religions, but the very religion which is ordained by Christ, sanctioned by the primitive and Catholic Church and approved by the consentient mind and voice of the most early Fathers,'*<sup>26</sup> lo cierto es que su Iglesia se había alineado ideológicamente con el movimiento de reforma europeo. Isabel había creado una Iglesia que se consideraba católica y reformada a la vez, pero que ni los católico-romanos ni los calvinistas europeos reconocían como tal.

El hecho de que Isabel optase por un modelo de uniformidad litúrgico, en vez de confesional, tuvo consecuencias totalmente previsibles. Por un lado, este modelo era capaz de incluir a personas con diferentes énfasis teológicos y doctrinales, facilitando un

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<sup>24</sup> MacCulloch, 'The Church of England', 27.

<sup>25</sup> William P. Haugaard, 'From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century', en Stephen Sykes et al. (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism* (London: SPCK, 1998), 6.

<sup>26</sup> J.M. Rigg, *Calendar of State Papers, Vol. I* (London: 1916), 154-155. Citado por: Haugaard, 'From the Reformation', 15.

espacio eclesial de diversidad teológica. Por otro lado, esta diversidad solo podía funcionar mediante el respeto a la honestidad teológica del otro. En caso contrario, era una bomba de relojería, lista para ser activada por quienes buscasen un modelo sin ambivalencias teológicas.

La síntesis isabelina, que Hooker defenderá en sus escritos, se convirtió en el gran experimento eclesiológico del siglo XVI. Esta reforma sentó las bases para una tradición cristiana que contaba con un doble potencial. Por un lado, podía modelar una eclesiología generosa, inclusiva y dialogal. Por otro lado, podía acabar víctima de una esquizofrenia teológica o, en el peor de los casos, en divisiones y cismas. Este último riesgo, que fue asumido por los reformadores del pacto isabelino, ha representado el mayor desafío a la eclesiología anglicana en sus casi cinco siglos de historia.

## Capítulo 3. Richard Hooker y la hermenéutica anglicana

### 3.1. El hombre, su época y su obra

*‘Richard Hooker (1554-1600) is unquestionably the greatest Anglican theologian.’*<sup>27</sup> Con estas palabras inicia Paul Avis su capítulo sobre Hooker, en una de las obras más influyentes sobre eclesiología anglicana. La razón de esta contundente afirmación es que el clérigo isabelino no solo contribuyó de manera decisiva a ofrecer una articulación eclesiológica de la Iglesia de Inglaterra de finales del siglo XVI, sino que su influencia sobre el anglicanismo de siglos posteriores ha sido indiscutible. A falta de un reformador fundador como Lutero o Calvino en el anglicanismo, muchos anglicanos han elevado a Hooker a este puesto cuasi-canónico. Shirley, en este sentido, llega a afirmar que la obra hookeriana *‘has given Anglican theology a tone and a direction which it has never lost.’*<sup>28</sup>

Hooker vivió en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, un tiempo, como se ha apuntado en el capítulo anterior, políticamente convulso y de importantes controversias teológicas. Formado académicamente en Oxford, uno de los centros del *conformismo* isabelino,<sup>29</sup> Richard enseñó hebreo en esta universidad. Tras su ordenación como sacerdote ejerció su labor pastoral en varias parroquias del sur de Inglaterra. Su buena relación con John Whitgift, el entonces arzobispo de Canterbury, y su distinción académica, hizo que fuese nombrado *Master* de la *Temple Church* en Londres. Fue aquí donde durante la década de los ochenta, Hooker vivió uno de los momentos más difíciles de su ministerio. En este período nombraron a Walter Travers<sup>30</sup> como *lecturer* o teólogo residente encargado de predicar en el Templo por las tardes. Travers representaba el ala no conformista, también

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<sup>27</sup> Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), 47.

<sup>28</sup> F.J. Shirley, *Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas* (London: CHS, 1949), 35-36. Citado por: Henry R. MacAdoo, *The Spirit of Anglicanism: a survey of Anglican theological method in the seventeenth century* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965), 6.

<sup>29</sup> Por ‘conformismo’ se entiende el sector mayoritario, dentro de la Iglesia de Inglaterra, que defendía la reforma y el *status quo* emanados del pacto isabelino.

<sup>30</sup> Los detalles de la vida de Travers continúan siendo desconocidos. Se sabe que nació a mediados del siglo XVI, que se formó como teólogo en Cambridge, que visitó los centros calvinistas de Suiza y los Países Bajos, y que el arzobispo John Whitgift le prohibió predicar en público en 1586. Travers murió en 1635. Para ampliar el conocimiento sobre este autor, ver: Samuel J. Knox, *Walter Travers: paragon of Elizabethan puritanism* (London: Methuen, 1962).

llamada ‘puritana’, de la Iglesia isabelina, una que reclamaba una reforma más profunda en la Iglesia de Inglaterra, en una dirección calvinista. El resultado fue de esperar: una guerra dialéctica permanente, que hizo que Hooker escribiera al arzobispo para suplicarle que le buscara una parroquia diferente, más tranquila, donde dedicarse a formular sus pensamientos teológicos y a articular una respuesta reflexionada y detallada a los ataques de los puritanos.

Whitgift concedió a Hooker su deseo, y en 1591 fue nombrado párroco de una pequeña aldea rural, a las afueras de Salisbury, donde pudo dedicarse a escribir su obra más importante, las *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. En este compendio de ocho libros de contenido apologético, Hooker respondía a las críticas y acusaciones de sus adversarios teológicos y, de forma indirecta, formulaba una de las exposiciones más claras y elocuentes de la eclesiología anglicana emanada del pacto isabelino.

Los primeros cuatro libros sientan los cimientos teológicos y hermenéuticos de la eclesiología de Hooker.<sup>31</sup> En estos cuatro volúmenes, el énfasis es sobre la esencia de la Iglesia, los principios de autoridad teológica, y la función de los sacramentos y el ministerio ordenado (autoridad eclesial). El libro quinto,<sup>32</sup> el más extenso de todos, expande su pensamiento sobre la Iglesia y los sacramentos, aportando numerosas reflexiones sobre su visión de la Iglesia isabelina. Estos cinco primeros volúmenes fueron publicados durante su vida y contienen el grueso de su doctrina eclesiológica y de la cuestión central que nos ocupa, la identidad anglicana. En los tres últimos libros, publicados tras su muerte, Hooker analiza las nociones de jurisdicción, episcopado y supremacía real en más detalle, aunque sin aportar nada significativo a lo dicho en libros anteriores. Aunque el contenido de estos tres volúmenes es interesante e ilustrativo, existen dudas entre los críticos textuales de la obra hookeriana sobre la autoría de ciertos textos atribuidos a él.<sup>33</sup> Es por ello que en este capítulo me centraré en los cinco primeros libros.

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. Richard Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, books I-IV* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1888). Esta obra a partir de aquí aparecerá abreviada como LEP, I-IV.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Richard Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, book V* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1902). Esta obra a partir de aquí aparecerá abreviada como LEP, V.

<sup>33</sup> La edición crítica textual más importante sobre estos tres libros ha sido publicada por la Universidad de Harvard. Cf. Richard Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, books VI-VIII. The Folger Library Edition* (Harvard: HUP, 1981). Ver, además, Jeremy Morris, *F.D. Maurice and the crisis of Christian authority* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 21.

El anglicanismo posterior ha interpretado a Hooker de forma diversa. Históricamente, tanto tradicionalistas (anglo-católicos) como evangélicos y puritanos, además de la rama más liberal del anglicanismo, han hecho una lectura selectiva de sus escritos para justificar sus opiniones. Hasta bien entrado el siglo XX, la hagiografía anglicana se había encargado de pintar un retrato del teólogo isabelino donde éste aparecía como un siervo de la Iglesia nacional teológicamente humilde y políticamente ingenuo. Un aura de santidad lo había convertido en uno de los padres del anglicanismo renacentista, cuyas motivaciones para escribir su obra apologética eran puramente espirituales y teológicas.

A partir de los años setenta, una lectura revisionista de este personaje comenzó a dibujar un boceto biográfico muy diferente. En este dibujo, Hooker se convierte en un propagandista intencional, al servicio de la maquinaria eclesial, y más concretamente, del objetivo principal de Whitgift de eliminar cualquier tipo de reforma radical en la Iglesia.<sup>34</sup> Pero en las últimas décadas, una serie de recientes hallazgos sobre su vida, nos ha transmitido una imagen más compleja. Como afirma Debora Shuger:

*To read the Laws as official propaganda for the established church and status quo is to confuse Hooker with Bancroft. [...] Current research thus indicates that Hooker's ties to the 'movement of reaction and repression led by Archbishop Whitgift' were looser than one might have supposed, which might explain why his works found such an ideologically diverse audience.*<sup>35</sup>

Esta postura, es apoyada, además, por la evidencia del contexto polemicista isabelino. Hooker, a pesar de ser *'by far the most comprehensive, coherent and intellectually successful exponent of the avant-garde conformist project,'*<sup>36</sup> no reflejaba el consenso conformista del momento en aspectos tan importantes como el del *iure divino* de la autoridad episcopal. Pero a esto volveremos más adelante. Baste decir, a modo de introducción, que el pensamiento de Hooker exhibe una *'eclesiología latente'*<sup>37</sup> que

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago: UCP, 1992).

<sup>35</sup> Debora Shuger. "'Society Supernatural': the imagined community of Hooker's Laws", en Claire MacEachern y Debora Shuger (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 117.

<sup>36</sup> Peter Lake, 'The "Anglican moment"?', en Platten, *Anglicanism*, 114.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Avis, *Anglicanism*, 47.



combina elementos originales con elementos compartidos, referencias católicas con referencias protestantes, y una compleja exposición del principio de autoridad vertical y horizontal. Es esta eclesiología *hookeriana* la que nos disponemos a analizar en este capítulo.

### 3.2. La Iglesia en la teología de Hooker

Como se ha apuntado anteriormente, Hooker vivió y escribió en un contexto donde la Iglesia de Inglaterra se sentía sometida a presiones tanto externas, por parte de Roma y Ginebra, como internas, por parte de los defensores de modelos eclesiológicos más católicos o más reformados. Su obra es, por tanto, esencialmente apologética y polémica. Hooker no se dedicó a escribir un tratado eclesiológico, o una *Suma Teológica*, ni siquiera unas *Instituciones de la Religión Cristiana*, como hizo Calvino. Su eclesiología emerge de su respuesta a los ataques de unos y otros, sean ‘papistas’ o ‘puritanos’, en una obra de carácter legal, las *Leyes de Política Eclesial*. En este sentido el caso de Hooker cuenta con precedentes históricos importantes.

Es bien sabido que la eclesiología occidental anterior a la Reforma protestante se forjó gracias a las controversias teológicas que obligaron a teólogos cristianos a defender, y de camino articular, la ortodoxia católica. Desde Ireneo en *Adversus Haereses*, hasta Agustín en sus escritos contra los donatistas, y más tarde en concilios medievales, la teología de la Iglesia emanó principalmente de contextos de división y controversia. En la época medieval, la tradición tomista no se interesó por formular tratados eclesiológicos sistemáticos, ésto se comienza en siglos más recientes. Más bien, la eclesiología se originaba principalmente a partir del derecho canónico y de la teología fundamental.<sup>38</sup>

Hooker, por tanto, no está solo a la hora de abordar su teología de la Iglesia, no solo en cuanto a su contexto polemicista, sino en lo relativo a su perspectiva legal. La ley, entendida como procedente de Dios, en sus dos vertientes tomistas, de ley natural y ley revelada, constituye el marco en que encuadra su obra. Los principios fundamentales de esta ley, que es fuente de orden y armonía social en el contexto secular, pueden y deben también ser aplicados a la Iglesia. Es por ello que en sus ocho volúmenes el énfasis es

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. Yves Congar, *Eclesiología desde San Agustín hasta nuestros días* (Madrid: BAC, 1976), 2-10, 93-129.

sobre política eclesial, entendiendo ‘política’ como aquello que es de dominio público. Aplicada a la Iglesia, dicha política es sinónimo de disciplina eclesial, y agrupa tanto a las normas que rigen el culto de la Iglesia, es decir, sus ritos y ceremonias, como al gobierno de la Iglesia, esto es, el tipo de estructura eclesial. Hooker la define con estas palabras:

*To our purpose therefore the name of Church-polity will better serve, because it containeth both government, and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in public. Neither is anything in this degree more necessary than Church-polity, which is a form of ordering the public spiritual affairs of the Church of God.*<sup>39</sup>

Dicho esto, la Iglesia, para Hooker, tenía un carácter profundamente cristológico y cristocéntrico. Para describirla se sirvió de muchas metáforas, pero la más recurrente fue la de ‘cuerpo de Cristo’. Un cuerpo místico que aglutinaba tanto a los cristianos que ya estaban en el cielo (la comunión de los santos) como a los que están en la tierra. Ya san Agustín hizo esta distinción entre la Iglesia invisible y la Iglesia visible, o Iglesia celestial y peregrina (*in caelo fundata, in terra peregrinans*).<sup>40</sup> Pero esta distinción no hablaba de dos iglesias diferentes, sino de una Iglesia en dos momentos diferentes, unidas con Cristo y cuerpo de Cristo. Y dentro de la última, aceptaba la realidad de estar compuesta por justos y pecadores. Más tarde Tomás de Aquino, en su *Suma Teológica*, volvió a hacer esta distinción entre la Iglesia que ya vivía la comunión espiritual con Cristo y aquella en la que se confesaba a Cristo y que tenía unión sacramental con él, como un anticipo a la unión plena que se daría en el futuro escatológico.<sup>41</sup>

Hooker, siguiendo la tradición tomista, afirmaba que la Iglesia de Cristo poseía dos dimensiones, una mística (evita aquí utilizar la palabra ‘invisible’), y una visible o terrenal. Pero se daba, además, un solapamiento entre el cuerpo místico y el visible, compuesto por la comunidad de quienes tenían una fe pura y verdadera, algo que solo Dios podía juzgar, estuvieran en el cielo o en la tierra. Así, Hooker afirma:

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<sup>39</sup> LEP, III. 179.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Sermón 341, en: *Obras completas de San Agustín XXVI* (Madrid: BAC, 1935), 43-58.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Tomás de Aquino, ‘Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum’ (1273) en:

<http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/csv.html>

*The Church of Christ which we properly terme his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, in as much as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth, we do not discern under this property whereby they are truely and infallibly of that body.*<sup>42</sup>

La Iglesia visible, compuesta por santos y pecadores, tiene, además, una dimensión histórica. No se limita a la Iglesia post-pentecostal que nace en el período apostólico, sino que su existencia se remonta al génesis mismo de la humanidad, y a la relación entre Yavé y el pueblo judío (llamado por Hooker en varias ocasiones, ‘iglesia judía’). Así, para Hooker, la Iglesia se extendía en el tiempo a través de dos grandes momentos históricos:

*And this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end. Which company being divided into two moieties, the one before, the one since the coming of Christ, that part which since the coming of Christ partly hath embraced, and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian Religion, we term as by a more proper name the Church of Christ.*<sup>43</sup>

En su Libro III, Hooker hace una distinción importante sobre la Iglesia visible. Ésta tiene tres dimensiones: la universal, o católica; la nacional, o particular; y la local o congregacional. Todas y cada una juegan un papel importante. Sin embargo, para él, el término ‘Iglesia’ ha de reservarse a la sociedad cristiana, sea nacional o universal, y es impreciso mantener que la Iglesia sea la asamblea local, como defendían calvinistas y puritanos. Contra esta visión congregacionalista de la Iglesia, Hooker afirma:

*As in the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; so the Catholic Church is in like sort devided into a number of distinct societies, every of which is termed a Church within itself. In this sense the Church*

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<sup>42</sup> LEP, III. 168-169.

<sup>43</sup> LEP, III. 169.

*is always a visible society of men; not an assembly, but a society. For although the name of the Church be given unto Christian assemblies [...]; yet assemblies properly are rather things that belong to the Church. Men are assembled for performance of public actions; which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth itselfe and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was assembled, doth no less continue afterwards than before.*<sup>44</sup>

Como fiel anglicano, Hooker admitía como definición de Iglesia aquella contenida en los *Treinta y nueve artículos* isabelinos. Es decir, que *‘the Church of Christ is a company of faithful people, among whom the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are rightly administered according to Christ’s institutions.’*<sup>45</sup> Ésta era la definición clásica reformada, compartida por el grueso del magisterio protestante del siglo XVI. Sin embargo, Hooker no se contentaba con una definición basada en esta doble marca externa de palabra-sacramento. Tampoco creía que lo que definía a la Iglesia era la inquebrantable sucesión apostólica histórica defendida por Roma. Para él, la *esencia* de la Iglesia visible se encontraba en la profesión de fe paulina: ‘un Señor, una fe, un bautismo’. Según Hooker, en esta profesión de fe se hallaba la esencia tanto de la Iglesia como de lo que significa ser cristiano:

*The unity of which visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that One Lord, whose servants they all profess themselves; that one faith which they all acknowledge; that one baptism, wherewith they are all initiated. The visible Church of Jesus Christ is, therefore, one in outward profession of those things which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man.*<sup>46</sup>

Esta triple profesión eclesial (un Señor, una fe, un bautismo), a la que Hooker apunta en el siglo XVI, se convirtió en la base confesional del movimiento ecuménico del siglo XX, como aspecto unificador de las iglesias miembros del Consejo Mundial de Iglesias. Para

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<sup>44</sup> Ibíd.178.

<sup>45</sup> LEP, V. 605.

<sup>46</sup> LEP, III. 170.

el teólogo inglés, sin embargo, esta declaración eclesial externa, aunque esencial para la Iglesia, no es garantía de salvación. Esto lo desarrolla en su Libro V, utilizando una nueva metáfora para describir a la Iglesia visible.

*Now the privilege of the visible Church of God is to be herein like the ark of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep; yet in this was the ark of Noah privileged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternal life our profession is not enough. Many things exclude from the kingdom of God although from the Church they separate not.*<sup>47</sup>

Estas dos afirmaciones eclesiológicas están íntimamente ligadas a la soteriología agustiniana. Por una parte afirma un claro, aunque reservado ('por lo que sabemos'/'*for any thing we know to the contrary*'), *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. Por otra parte vuelve a hacer hincapié en que dentro de la Iglesia coexisten, ya no solo justos y pecadores, sino salvos y condenados. Esta última afirmación, que evoca ciertas parábolas y textos evangélicos, entre ellos el del juicio de las naciones en Mateo 25, está ligada, además, a la doctrina de la predestinación.<sup>48</sup>

Si la esencia de la Iglesia visible es la triple confesión de 'un Señor, una fe, un bautismo', el cimiento o fundamento de la Iglesia es solo uno: Cristo Jesús. En uno de sus sermones, vuelve a subrayar esta dimensión cristológica que es fundamental y fundacional para la Iglesia:

*This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame of the gospel is erected: that very Jesus whom the Virgin conceived of the Holy Ghost, whom Simeon embraced in his arms, whom Pilate condemned, whom the Jews crucified, whom the apostles*

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<sup>47</sup> LEP, V. 396.

<sup>48</sup> Por razones de espacio y criterios de relevancia teológica, no trataré este aspecto de su doctrina en este estudio. A modo de breve anotación, baste decir que Hooker tenía una visión bastante agustiniana de esta doctrina, evitando la predestinación radical de algunos calvinistas (o 'doble predestinación'). Para profundizar en este asunto ver: Charles Miller, *Richard Hooker and the vision of God* (Cambridge: James Clark & Co., 2013), 74-82; y Egil Grislis, 'Providence, Predestination and Free Will in Richard Hooker's Theology', en: W.J. Torrance Kirby (ed.), *Richard Hooker and the English Reformation* (New York: Springer, 2003), 79-95

*preached, he is Christ, the only Saviour of the world: 'other foundation can no man lay.'*<sup>49</sup>

La eclesiología de Hooker es profundamente cristológica y cristocéntrica. Esto le permitía elevar su discurso por encima de las diferencias, para él, secundarias, fuentes de divisiones y conflictos. También le permitía, como Rowan Williams ha observado, '*to imagine a church of a certain kind*'<sup>50</sup> que, para él, ya existía de forma parcial y latente en la Iglesia de Inglaterra. Para entender mejor qué tipo de Iglesia imaginaba Hooker, tenemos que prestar atención, no solo a las marcas externas de dicha Iglesia, o a los cimientos espirituales y teológicos de la misma, sino especialmente a un talante eclesial y un modelo hermenéutico que se analizará a continuación.

### **3.3. La hermenéutica conversacional de Hooker**

Si hay algo que haya tenido un impacto real y duradero en la eclesiología anglicana, esto es, sin duda, lo que aquí denomino como *hermenéutica conversacional hookeriana*. Descritas por otros autores como un 'método teológico'<sup>51</sup> o un 'pragmatismo contemplativo',<sup>52</sup> el modelo que Hooker proponía era más un paradigma hermenéutico que un método preciso y detallado.

La hermenéutica conversacional de Hooker parte de dos principios fundamentales. Por una parte, el reconocimiento de la falibilidad humana en nuestra búsqueda de la verdad. Por otra, la distinción entre dos tipos de proposiciones teológicas: primarias y secundarias. Las primarias son las proposiciones doctrinales en las que los cristianos están básicamente de acuerdo. Las secundarias, llamadas también *adiáfora*, del griego 'cosas indiferentes', son cuestiones no doctrinales conectadas con la política eclesial, es decir, con la forma en la que la Iglesia ordena su vida pública. Hooker soñaba con una Iglesia universal capaz de aceptar esta intuición teológica que emerge a lo largo de su obra.

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<sup>49</sup> Richard Hooker, 'On justification, Works and how the Foundation of Faith is overthrown'. Citado por: Avis, *Anglicanism*, 50.

<sup>50</sup> Rowan Williams, *Anglican Identities* (London: Darton, Logman & Todd, 2004), 39.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. MacAdoo, *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, 1-5.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Williams, *Anglican Identities*, 56.

En cuanto al principio de falibilidad humana, éste aparece ya en el prefacio de su Libro I. Aquí, apelaba a sus adversarios calvinistas radicales que buscaban, según Hooker, desestabilizar el orden isabelino, a que reconsiderasen su postura y su actitud. Al comienzo de su obra escribe:

*The best and safest way for you, therefore, my dear brethren, is [...] to re-examine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can, to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think, ye are men, deem it not impossible for you to err.*<sup>53</sup>

Las exhortaciones, primero, a buscar la verdad con humildad, y segundo, a reconocer su falibilidad humana, no son fruto de su ‘pesimismo reformado’, como asegura Williams,<sup>54</sup> sino de un realismo basado en una visión crítica de la historia. Para Hooker, uno de los grandes retos de sus días es que ‘*zeal has drowned charity, and skill meekness*’.<sup>55</sup> Su apología de la humildad teológica se halla íntimamente unida al reconocimiento de las limitaciones humanas para entender plenamente la realidad. En el mismo prefacio, vuelve a subrayar dicha falibilidad con referencia a los grandes maestros o padres de la reforma. Para él:

*Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightly admire; in them we are not persuaded willingly that anything should be amiss. [...] This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other Churches Calvin, to prevail in all things. Yet we are not able to define whether the wisdom of that God, might not permit those worthy vessels of his glory to be in some things blemished with the stain of human frailty.*<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> LEP, I. 56.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Williams, *Anglican Identities*, 26.

<sup>55</sup> LEP, IV. 231.

<sup>56</sup> LEP, I. 33.

De nuevo, en su Libro III, Hooker pone de manifiesto la importancia de este talante o actitud teológica. En el debate sobre controversias doctrinales afirma que, primero, es fundamental buscar con humildad a Dios. Y, segundo, es importante vigilar y controlar nuestro orgullo.<sup>57</sup> Solo desde esta actitud es posible aplicar el segundo principio hermenéutico que se puede discernir en su paradigma conversacional.

El segundo principio, de adiafóra, es esencial en su obra. Este concepto, que fue utilizado por otros reformadores en la primera mitad del siglo XVI, tuvo su principal exponente en Felipe Melancton. El teólogo alemán, que sucedió a Lutero en Wittenberg, fue un insaciable buscador de la unidad y la reconciliación eclesial, tanto con Roma como entre las diversas escuelas reformadas. Para ello se valió de esta distinción entre asuntos esenciales y adiafóra, e insistió en que los últimos no definían la ortodoxia, mas formaban parte de la diversidad legítima de la Iglesia.<sup>58</sup>

Hooker elabora su teoría adiaforística a partir de una distinción legal previa, conectada con los distintos tipos de leyes. Para él, las leyes podían dividirse en inmutables, que nunca cambian, y temporales, sujetas a cambio. Cuando aplica esta distinción a la Iglesia, da dos ejemplos: la ley inmutable sería el evangelio eterno de Jesucristo del que habla san Juan en su evangelio; y la ley mutable sería la de las ceremonias y ritos de la Iglesia que demostrablemente han evolucionado y cambiado a lo largo de la historia.<sup>59</sup> En consecuencia, los asuntos relacionados con las leyes mutables tienen una naturaleza diferente. No es que sean ‘indiferentes’ en cuanto a que no importan, sino que pertenecen a un orden mutable y están abiertos a reinterpretaciones y cambio.

Sobre estos dos pilares de la humildad teológica y la afirmación del principio de adiafóra, desarrolla Hooker su modelo hermenéutico conversacional. Este paradigma interpretativo no es un método detallado o sistemático, sino más bien una conversación entre varios agentes epistemológicos. Los tres agentes principales son: la Biblia, la razón y la tradición. Hooker afirmó: *‘What Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the first place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatsoever any man can*

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<sup>57</sup> Según Hooker: *‘In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that, [...] needful it is that in such cases our pride be controlled’*. LEP, III. 230.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. W. Gordon Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1948), 140.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. LEP, I. 121; III. 209-10. Para Hooker dos tipos de leyes gozan de tal inmutabilidad: la ley moral (natural) y la ley evangélica.



*necessarily conclude by force of reason. After these, the voice of the Church succeedeth.*'<sup>60</sup>

A pesar de aparecer aquí enumerados en un orden cuasi-jerárquico, lo cierto es que a lo largo de su obra Hooker da prioridad a uno u otro, dependiendo de lo que más le interesa para formular sus argumentos. Aún así, las Sagradas Escrituras ocupan para Hooker un lugar especial. Éstas están investidas de una autoridad divina ya no solo por su función reveladora del carácter y la voluntad de Dios, sino, sobre todo, porque en ellas se proclama el mensaje de salvación del evangelio. En este sentido, la Biblia tiene un papel esencialmente didáctico-soteriológico. En este punto Hooker está más cercano a Lutero, para quien el *sola scriptura* es tal, porque en ellas se contiene todo lo necesario para la salvación, que a Calvino, que sostenía que la Biblia era la fuente de autoridad para todas las cosas (doctrina y disciplina eclesial). En consecuencia, es perfectamente plausible afirmar que Hooker establece la autoridad de las Escrituras, precisamente, sobre la base de la soteriología bíblica.

En su Libro II, resume las posturas de la Iglesia de Roma y de los calvinistas sobre las Escrituras afirmando: '*Two opinions, therefore, there are concerning sufficiency of Holy Scripture, each extremely opposite to the other, and both repugnant unto truth.*'<sup>61</sup> La postura de la escuela de Roma, nos dice, opina que la Escritura por sí sola es insuficiente para la salvación y es necesaria la tradición para complementarla. La opinión de los reformados, continúa, afirma que la Escritura es suficiente no solo para lo relativo a la salvación (doctrina), sino para todas las cosas. Ambos, concluye, son extremos peligrosos.<sup>62</sup>

Para Hooker, el atribuir a la Biblia una función que va más allá de su papel es, ante todo, deshonesto, pues no hace justicia al texto sagrado. En segundo lugar, es impracticable, pues la Biblia no contiene todos los supuestos humanos habidos y por haber. Y, por último, pone en peligro la relevancia y la estima que las Escrituras gozan entre las personas.<sup>63</sup> La Biblia, para el teólogo anglicano, en la mayoría de los casos, no es una fuente de verdad clara e inequívoca que se interpreta a sí misma. Para comprender la Escritura ésta debe de estar en conversación con el testimonio acumulado de, entre

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<sup>60</sup> LEP, V. 36.

<sup>61</sup> LEP, II. 167.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Ibíd.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Ibíd.

otros, los Padres de la Iglesia (tradición), y con la luz del entendimiento y de la razón humana. A esta última, la razón, dedica Hooker gran parte de sus argumentos.

Para Hooker, la razón tiene un peso y una fuerza que le da una cierta autonomía en esta conversación a tres partes. Como agente hermenéutico cuenta con capacidad creativa y tiene un papel activo en la formulación de leyes eclesiales. En el prefacio del Libro I, ya Hooker afirma que *'the laws of well-doing are the dictates of right reason.'*<sup>64</sup> Y en su Libro III, hace una defensa de la razón como guía competente para entender mejor las Escrituras y hacer teología, a la vez que crítica a aquellos que hacen una apología de la ignorancia. Según Hooker:

*The star of reason and learning, and all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of than if it were an unlucky comet, or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in things concerning our duty any away towards him [...]. A number there are who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason. For which cause they never use reason.*<sup>65</sup>

Esta caricaturización de sus adversarios, con el tono satírico final, en el que los califica de necios sin usar tal adjetivo, no resta trascendencia al argumento de fondo. A continuación, Hooker enumera las premisas por las que sus adversarios se oponían al uso de la razón: por ser innecesaria, peligrosa y no bíblica. Y concluye con una reflexión que, a pesar de su tono polemicista, deja entrever la frustración de Hooker con sus críticos. Según él: *'An opinion hath spread itself very far in the world, as if the way to be ripe in faith, were to be raw in witt and judgement; as if reason were an enemy unto Religion, childish simplicity the mother of ghostly and divine wisdom.'*<sup>66</sup>

Sin embargo, uno de sus argumentos más claros en defensa de la razón es, precisamente, el del propósito último de las Escrituras. Aquí deconstruye el argumento puritano con un razonamiento que evoca la esencia del escolasticismo tomista. Hooker se pregunta: *'The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach Theology?*

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<sup>64</sup> LEP, I. 77.

<sup>65</sup> LEP, III. 189-190.

<sup>66</sup> LEP, III. 190.

*Theology what is it but the science of things divine? What science can be attained unto without the help of natural discourse and reason?’<sup>67</sup>*

Pero Hooker va más allá. En las páginas que siguen explica que, incluso para defender el carácter sacro de las Escrituras, los Padres de la Iglesia hicieron uso de razonamientos y argumentos convincentes (razonables), y por tanto de la razón.<sup>68</sup> La Iglesia, para defenderse del error y de aquellos que predicaban mensajes erróneos, atribuyéndoselos al Espíritu Santo, fue investida siempre con hombres sabios y juiciosos, con el uso de la razón ‘*to stop the mouths of her impious adversaries.*’<sup>69</sup> No sabemos si Hooker se consideraba parte de esta élite de sabios, quizás su humildad teológica no se lo permitiera. Lo que está claro en el conjunto de su obra es que sí consideraba a los puritanos como ‘impíos adversarios’. Lo importante aquí, sin embargo, y así lo dirá Hooker más adelante, es que en todo proceso hermenéutico existe una colaboración indisoluble entre la razón, las Escrituras y la tradición.<sup>70</sup> Clark, que a principios del siglo XX, mantenía aún una visión romántica de la reforma isabelina, defendía el paradigma conversacional de Hooker en contraste con el énfasis de otras iglesias cristianas. En este sentido afirmó:

*When Protestants who had rejected the oracular authority of the Pope were busy trying to set up the oracular authority of the Bible, and substituting Geneva for Rome, Richard Hooker in his Ecclesiastical Polity sought to establish Anglicanism on a surer basis. While maintaining the authority of Scripture and tradition he insisted that a third factor must be taken into account, the human reason.<sup>71</sup>*

En este punto merece la pena hacer un paréntesis para explicar en qué consistía para Hooker la razón. Su concepto de razón, estaba más cercano a la tradición tomista que al concepto de la Ilustración. Según Avis, para Hooker: ‘*Reason is a divinely implanted faculty for apprehending the truth revealed by God in nature and scripture. It seeks the*

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<sup>67</sup> Ibíd. 197.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 198.

<sup>69</sup> Ibíd. 199.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 202.

<sup>71</sup> C.P.S. Clarke, *The Via Media* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937), 134-135.

*good for humanity and moderates between appetite and will.*<sup>72</sup> Marianne Micks, va más lejos y añade que, para Hooker, la razón tenía un rostro humano: *'She wore a human face. She was the sister of Wisdom, in a fully biblical sense of that gift of God.'*<sup>73</sup> Para esta teóloga norteamericana, la comprensión hookeriana de la razón está más próxima a *'the Augustinian and Anselmian tradition of "faith seeking understanding" than to the rationalism with which he is sometimes branded.'*<sup>74</sup>

Dicho esto, cuando se trata de la conversación entre razón y Escrituras, existe para Hooker un agente divino, a menudo ausente en la crítica académica de su obra. Este agente es esencial en el paradigma hermenéutico del teólogo isabelino, y por ello llama especialmente la atención su ausencia en las fuentes secundarias más significativas sobre Hooker. Para él, el otro agente que inspira, traspasa, y penetra cada personaje de esta conversación es el Espíritu Santo. La tercera persona de la Trinidad tiene un papel clave en su hermenéutica conversacional. Según Hooker:

*In all that hitherto hath been spoken touching the force and use of man's reason in things divine, I must crave that I be not so understood or construed as if any such thing by virtue thereof could be done without the aid and assistance of God's most blessed Spirit.*<sup>75</sup>

Del mismo modo que hay una colaboración creativa entre la Escritura y la razón, existe una colaboración indiscutible entre la razón y el Espíritu de Dios. En estas páginas encontramos lo más parecido a una pneumatología hookeriana, aunque sin una articulación sistemática. Hooker escribe:

*For this cause therefore we have endeavoured to it appear how in the nature of reason itself there is no impediment, but that the selfsame Spirit which revealeth the things that God hath set down in the law, may also be brought to aid and*

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<sup>72</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 65.

<sup>73</sup> Marianne H. Micks, 'Richard Hooker as Theologian', *Theology Today* 36.4 (1980), 561-562.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibíd.*

<sup>75</sup> LEP, III. 201.

*direct men in finding out by the light of reason what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of His Church over and besides them that are in Scripture.*<sup>76</sup>

Así pues, aunque históricamente se haya puesto el énfasis en la tríada Biblia-razón-tradición, es necesario rescatar esta dimensión pneumatológica. Es más, sería injusto e impreciso no mencionar otros agentes conversacionales que aparecen con menor frecuencia, pero que juegan un papel real en este proceso hermenéutico. Para Hooker, entre ellos están el sentido común, la experiencia, los testimonios, y la habilidad humana.<sup>77</sup> En este sentido, lo que describo aquí es un paradigma hermenéutico abierto y fluido que, como se ha demostrado, contaba con cuatro agentes conversacionales principales: Biblia-razón-tradición-Espíritu, pero que dejaba las puertas abiertas a otras fuentes del saber. Como veremos en próximos capítulos, este paradigma dio lugar, en el siglo XX, a lo que algunos han llamado un ‘método anglicano’. La metáfora preferida es la de un taburete (hermenéutico) con cuatro patas: Biblia-tradición-razón-experiencia. La dimensión pneumatológica, en las interpretaciones más recientes de este modelo, aparece de forma implícita, no explícita.

El paradigma hermenéutico dibujado por Hooker, como se ha dicho, ni es producto de una articulación sistemática, ni pretende ser un método exacto y exhaustivo. Más bien, ofrece pinceladas que hablan tanto de formas, esto es, de un talante teológico concreto basado en la humildad, como de fondo, es decir, de los contenidos esenciales y secundarios, y de las herramientas principales a usar en este proceso. Hooker definió, en el período isabelino, unas reglas de juego lo suficientemente amplias para incluir a cristianos moderados de distintas persuusiones teológicas, y lo suficientemente precisas para generar una cierta unidad y uniformidad en la Iglesia de Inglaterra. Lake, en este sentido, observa que:

*What was at stake here was a common intellectual and emotional heritage and formation that united the proponents of further reformation with the defenders of the status quo and put real limits on what was thinkable and sayable even by the most committed of those defenders. We are dealing here, in short, with a*

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. LEP, II.142.

*conceptual box outside of which the major contributors to this debate could not, indeed did not want to think.*<sup>78</sup>

Las implicaciones prácticas de este paradigma, o caja conceptual, se observan claramente en el tratamiento que Hooker da a varios temas candentes de su momento. Entre ellos, al principio de autoridad eclesial, a los sacramentos, especialmente a la eucaristía, y a las relaciones ecuménicas con otras iglesias. Estos tres aspectos serán abordados a continuación, a modo de casos concretos de estudio y ejemplos de teología hookeriana.

### **3.4. La autoridad y el sistema episcopal isabelino**

Por autoridad, en esta sección, no trataré los principios de autoridad teológicos, en especial la Biblia y la tradición, que ya he abordado de forma indirecta en la sección anterior. Lo que aquí me interesa es explorar el principio de autoridad en cuanto al modelo de gobierno de la Iglesia. Como he apuntado anteriormente, la Reforma protestante europea, y por extensión la inglesa, dio un vuelco radical a mucho de lo que hasta entonces había sido incontestable. Podría afirmarse que lo más significativo, al margen de las reformas teológicas y eclesiológicas, fue el traspaso de poder que tuvo lugar, en detrimento del papado y en beneficio de los monarcas y príncipes nacionales. Este traspaso de poder, del clero (el papa) a los laicos (el rey), cuyo impacto en las relaciones Iglesia-Estado y en el gobierno de las iglesias reformadas fue enorme, además, resultó inevitable. Como apunta Paul Avis, *‘[a]ny scheme of reform emanating from clergy would have been futile since it would have required authorisation by the pope. The only alternative source of jurisdiction was the lay one of the sovereign – and to this the Reformers turned.*’<sup>79</sup>

Mientras que en los cantones suizos se adoptó un modelo de gobierno eclesial basado en consistorios, formados por ancianos laicos y pastores ordenados, en Alemania y Escandinavia los luteranos desarrollaron diferentes modelos de gobierno, desde el sinodal de pastores y laicos, hasta el episcopal. En la Inglaterra isabelina se optó por un modelo episcopal que, a nivel nacional, se constituía de forma sinodal, mediante una

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<sup>78</sup> Lake, ‘Anglican moment’, 105.

<sup>79</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 60.

‘convocación’, o sínodo, formada por obispos y clérigos. La relación entre la Convocación, el Parlamento y la Corona, dentro del marco de la ‘Ley de Supremacía’ real, pasó por diferentes momentos de más o menos cordialidad y cooperación. También las competencias de cada institución fueron gradualmente definidas a lo largo del reinado de Isabel I, y modificadas en los siglos sucesivos.

La defensa que Hooker hace del episcopado, como modelo de gobierno, es interesante por varias razones. Primero, por su originalidad. Pues mientras la tendencia generalizada en el anglicanismo isabelino era el defender el orden episcopal sobre la base del *iure divino*,<sup>80</sup> Hooker, aunque no niega esta idea, pone el énfasis sobre el derecho de la política eclesial. Para él, el episcopado forma parte de los asuntos de segundo orden, o adiáfora. Aunque el gobierno episcopal sea el más bíblico y el más fiel a la institución dominical, en contra del modelo calvinista, Hooker es incapaz de afirmar que sea el único válido. El orden episcopal, para él, forma parte no de la *esse*, sino de la *bene esse* de la Iglesia. En su libro tercero escribe:

*In which respect, for mine own part, although I see that certain reformed Churches, the Scottish especially and French, have not that which best agreeth with sacred Scripture – I mean the government that is by bishops – inasmuch as both those Churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment, [...] I had rather lament in such a case than exagitate, considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity and regiment which is best, and to content themselves with that which either the irremediable error of former times or the necessity of the present hath cast upon them.*<sup>81</sup>

En segundo lugar, su postura es interesante porque la justificación que hace del orden episcopal no es sacramental, sino de carácter histórico y funcional. Esto ha hecho que en siglos sucesivos, tanto anglo-evangélicos como anglo-católicos, hayan sido capaces de inspirar su particular visión del episcopado en Hooker. Los evangélicos, poniendo el énfasis en el aspecto *funcional* del ministerio episcopal. Los anglo-católicos afirmando su

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. Lake, ‘Anglican moment’, 114-115.

<sup>81</sup> LEP, III. 225.

carácter *histórico*, al que además añadirían una defensa de la sucesión apostólica ininterrumpida. Para Hooker, la razón del episcopado es pragmática y tiene su base tanto en la Biblia como en la práctica continuada de la Iglesia (tradición). Según él:

*Where the clergy are any great multitude, order doth necessarily require that by degrees they be distinguished: we hold there have ever been and ever ought to be in such case, at leastwise two sorts of ecclesiastical persons, the one subordinate unto the other; as to the apostles in the beginning, and to the bishops always since, we find plainly both in Scripture and in all ecclesiastical records, other ministers of the word and sacraments have been.*<sup>82</sup>

Esta defensa del continuismo con el pasado católico-romano, contrasta con los matices innovadores que Hooker introduce al reflexionar sobre las competencias de obispos, Parlamento y monarquía, en temas de legislación eclesiástica. Hooker no dudaba que el Parlamento tuviera capacidad para legislar en cuestiones eclesiales. De hecho, tanto él como el resto de clérigos conformistas, veían el Parlamento como un sínodo laico al servicio de la Iglesia nacional. Tampoco le preocupaba el papel de la reina como gobernante suprema de la Iglesia, pues Isabel misma se auto-impuso límites con el fin de no tener competencias en cuestiones doctrinales. Su reclamo principal consistía en que, en cuestiones de legislación eclesial, las decisiones no se tomaran solo por la Corona y el Parlamento, sino por Corona, Parlamento y Convocación. A este respecto, Avis afirma que:

*[Hooker] sought, with his characteristic abhorrence of all forms of absolutism, to describe a balance and coherence of clergy and laity, convocation and parliament, within the Christian commonwealth, with the sovereign presiding over and mediating between them. [...] Similarly, his political thought was anything but absolutist and his account of the Royal Supremacy insisted on locating it not only in the Crown in parliament, but in the Crown in parliament and convocation.*<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> LEP, III. 228-229.

<sup>83</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 61.



Estas tensiones entre las distintas instituciones de gobierno, se mantuvieron de algún modo en los siglos posteriores. Avis las encuadra dentro de lo que él describe como tres grandes paradigmas de autoridad en el anglicanismo histórico. Un primer paradigma ‘erastiano’, basado en el erastianismo protestante que defendía la superioridad del Estado sobre la Iglesia. Éste se fragua en Inglaterra en el siglo XVI, y continuará, aunque perdiendo influencia, en los siglos XVII y XVIII. Un segundo paradigma de transición, que Avis califica de ‘erastiano y apostólico’, donde ambos coexisten en tensión a lo largo de los siglos XVII y XVIII. Y un tercer paradigma denominado ‘apostólico’, donde el énfasis se coloca en la autoridad y el gobierno episcopales. Éste se desarrolla en los siglos XIX y XX, con la expansión del anglicanismo y la formación de la Comunión Anglicana, y la creciente autonomía de la Iglesia con respecto al Estado, especialmente en Inglaterra.<sup>84</sup> Este aspecto será tratado con más profundidad en el capítulo quinto de esta tesis.

### **3.5. La eucaristía en la eclesiología de Hooker**

Dentro de todos los debates teológicos de la Reforma, el de la eucaristía fue, sin duda, el más cándido y divisivo. La discrepancia entre los reformadores europeos a la hora de definir esta doctrina esencial del cristianismo, provocó disputas teológicas, pactos políticos y numerosas excomuniones. La primera generación de protestantes, encabezada simbólicamente por Lutero y Zwinglio, ambos con posturas radicalmente opuestas sobre la eucaristía, dio lugar a una segunda generación con un talante más conciliador. La cuestión que dominó el debate en la primera generación fue si el sacramento de la santa cena era un mero memorial (Zwinglio), o si existía una presencia real de Cristo en los elementos consagrados (Lutero). La segunda generación, encabezada por Calvino en Ginebra, pero también por Melancton en Wittenberg, Bullinger en Zúrich, y Cranmer en Canterbury, abrió el debate a otras posibilidades. Aunque entre luteranos y zwinglianos las diferencias continuaban siendo irreconciliables, Calvino elevó el debate a una cuestión no tanto de presencia real, como de comunión espiritual.

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<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Ibíd.*

Es en este contexto, y dentro de una sacramentología inglesa de clara influencia calvinista, que Hooker articula su teología eucarística. Para el teólogo anglicano, la cuestión importante no es si Cristo está presente en el pan y vino consagrados, o en qué consiste esta presencia, sino el hecho de que en la eucaristía tenemos una comunión *real* con Cristo. En este sentido, en su Libro V, hace una exposición de la gracia sacramental de la eucaristía, en contraste con la del bautismo, y afirma que:

*Whereas therefore in our infancy we are incorporated into Christ and by baptism receive the grace of His Spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth, in the Eucharist we so receive the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giveth us, the degrees of our own increase in holiness and virtue we see and can judge of them, we understand that the strength of our life begun in Christ is Christ, that His flesh is meat and His blood drink, not by surmised imagination but truly, even so truly that through faith we perceive in the body and blood sacramentally presented the very taste of eternal life, the grace of the sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink.*<sup>85</sup>

Hooker aplica, aquí también, el principio de adiáfora. Para él, la cuestión de cómo es la presencia de Cristo en la eucaristía, si ésta es real o simbólica, ubicada en los elementos o bajo los elementos, es secundaria o indiferente. Por tanto, los cristianos pueden tener diversidad de opinión en este asunto. Lo importante, lo esencial, no es el *cómo* sino el *qué*. En esta línea Hooker se pregunta: ‘*shall I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how?*’<sup>86</sup> Su respuesta es, previsiblemente, un rotundo sí. Y en el argumento que continúa afirma lo que en la himnología anglicana decimonónica se expresó de forma poética con la confesión: ‘*Thou art here, we ask not how*’.<sup>87</sup> Más adelante en este mismo capítulo afirma de nuevo:

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<sup>85</sup> LEP, V. 372.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* 373.

<sup>87</sup> Esta confesión clásica de la teología eucarística anglicana se encuentra en el himno ‘Lord, enthroned in heavenly splendour’ de George Hugh Bourne, 1874.

*Our participation of Christ in this sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of His omnipotent power which maketh it His body and blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the element such as they imagine we need not greatly care nor inquire.*<sup>88</sup>

Esto, para Hooker, no es una estrategia perezosa o pragmática, sino la conclusión lógica de la consideración adiaforística del problema que plantea. Por otra parte, Hooker, siguiendo la tradición calvinista, afirma una presencia real de Cristo que no está ubicada en los elementos. La doctrina de *ubicacionismo* eucarístico era, y sigue siendo, compartida por católico-romanos y luteranos. Para el teólogo anglicano, la presencia de Cristo se halla en la persona comulgante, en el acto de comunión espiritual, es decir, al recibir y alimentarse del pan y del vino eucarísticos. Según Hooker: *‘The real presence of Christ’s most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.’*<sup>89</sup> Y lo justifica usando como argumento el orden en que Cristo pronunció las palabras de institución eucarística:

*And with this the very order of our Saviour’s words agreeth, first “take and eat”; then “this is My Body which was broken for you”: first “drink ye all of this”; then followeth “this is My Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins”.*<sup>90</sup>

A continuación, hace una afirmación reformada sobre la relación entre los sacramentos y la gracia: *‘As for the sacraments, they really exhibit, but [...] they are not really nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow.’*<sup>91</sup> Es decir, los elementos sacramentales, acompañados con las palabras de institución, en el contexto de la celebración comunitaria de estos misterios, ni son ni contienen en sí la gracia. No hay, por tanto, una localización espacial de presencia y gracia. Lo que hacen es exhibir, mostrar, poner de manifiesto, dicha gracia. La relación preposicional no se halla en el ‘en’, sino en el ‘por’ o ‘mediante’. Los sacramentos son,

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<sup>88</sup> LEP, V. 376-377.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibíd.* 376.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibíd.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibíd.*

así pues, vehículos de gracia, no continentes de gracia, y es por ello que dicha gracia tiene una dimensión personal: Dios se la comunica a la persona, a través del sacramento. Como prueba de ello se vale del bautismo como ejemplo. Según Hooker:

*If on all sides it be confessed that the grace of baptism is poured into the soul of man, that by water we receive it although it be neither seated in the water nor the water changed into it, what should induce men to think that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist before it can be in us that receive it?*<sup>92</sup>

También en la articulación de los sacramentos, y en especial de la doctrina eucarística, Hooker hace una apuesta por el reconocimiento de las diferencias, subrayando la unidad que existe en la fe eucarística. Aquí merece la pena incluir el texto completo, en que el teólogo inglés describe los puntos de unidad en la teología eucarística de protestantes y católico-romanos y hace una apelación a la reconciliación. Escribe Hooker:

*Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider by itself what cause why the rest in question should not rather be left as superfluous than urged as necessary. It is on all sides plainly confessed, first that this sacrament is a true and a real participation of Christ, Who thereby imparteth Himself even his whole entire Person as a mystical Head unto every soul that receiveth Him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a mystical member of Him, [...]; secondly that to whom the person of Christ is thus communicated, to them He giveth by the same sacrament His Holy Spirit to sanctify them [...]; thirdly that what merit, force or virtue soever there is in His sacrificed body and blood, we freely fully and wholly have it by this sacrament; fourthly that the effect thereof in us is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies from sin to righteousness from death and corruption to immortality and life; fifthly that because the sacrament being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest ourselves altogether upon the strength of*

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

*His glorious power Who is able and will bring to pass that the bread and cup which He giveth us shall be truly the thing He promiseth.*<sup>93</sup>

Esta exposición, como bien dice al principio, intenta formular solo los puntos de acuerdo entre protestantes (excluyendo a los zwinglianos) y católico-romanos. Lo que no trata, por ser para Hooker adiáfora, es el punto central de la doctrina católico-luterana del *manducatio corporis Christi*, es decir, que en la eucaristía el comulgante come, mastica y traga literal y verdaderamente el cuerpo de Cristo. Con el fin de aclarar su doctrina, que no es otra que la doctrina anglicana de la eucaristía formulada en el período isabelino, Hooker describe las tres interpretaciones sacramentales del ‘éste es mi cuerpo’. Excluye aquí de nuevo una referencia a la interpretación zwingliana. Según Hooker:

*The first “this is in itself before participation really and truly the natural substance of My body by reason of the coexistence which My omnipotent body hath with the sanctified element of bread”, which is the Lutherans’ interpretation; the second “this is in itself and before participation the very true and natural substance of My body, by force of that Deity which with the words of consecration abolisheth the substance of bread and substituteth in the place thereof My Body,” which is the popish construction; the last, “this hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power is in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make Myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as My sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need, this is to them and in them My body”: of these three rehearsed interpretations the last hath in it nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true.*<sup>94</sup>

La conclusión, en las páginas siguientes del Libro V, es una exhortación, primero, a celebrar la unidad, segundo, a no discutir por el ‘cómo’, y, tercero, a recibir el sacramento con amor y fe.<sup>95</sup> Dicho esto, es importante subrayar un aspecto fundamental de la

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<sup>93</sup> Ibíd. 378.

<sup>94</sup> Ibíd. 384.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 385-386.

sacramentología hookeriana que he dejado para el final. Se trata del punto de conexión entre su eclesiología y su teología eucarística.

Se puede tener la impresión, a juzgar por los ejemplos que utiliza Hooker para describir su visión de la eucaristía, que ésta tiene un carácter principalmente personal o incluso individualista. Parece tener que ver sobre todo con el comulgante y con la gracia transmitida al individuo. Esto, sin embargo, es fruto de una lectura parcial de su obra. Hooker es muy consciente de que la celebración comunitaria del misterio eucarístico tiene una dimensión esencialmente comunitaria. De hecho, como ha apuntado Shuger, *‘the utterly private experience of transcendent communion that Hooker records is the basis of community.’*<sup>96</sup> Para Hooker, en la eucaristía se produce una unión entre la realidad espiritual (mística) y la social (igualitaria). En la celebración de la santa cena, la dimensión vertical, de comunión con Dios, afecta a la comunión horizontal, entre las personas, de manera que las distinciones sociales típicas de cualquier comunidad desaparecen en la experiencia única y compartida de la liturgia.<sup>97</sup>

### **3.6. La eclesiología ecuménica de Hooker**

La mezcla, para algunos meramente pragmática y oportunista, de continuismo y cambio, que se dio en la Iglesia isabelina, la puso en una posición de gran antagonismo frente al resto de iglesias europeas (protestantes o romana). Como ya hemos visto, las críticas llovían desde Ginebra y desde Roma. Sin embargo, este equilibrio continuista-reformador puso a la Iglesia de Inglaterra, paradójicamente, en una posición ecuménica privilegiada. Ello ha dado su fruto, especialmente en la segunda mitad del siglo XX, con un intenso y productivo diálogo ecuménico con protestantes, católico-romanos y ortodoxos. Pero los gérmenes de esta vocación ecuménica anglicana ya estaban presentes en la eclesiología de Hooker.

El punto de partida de Hooker es su visión de la Iglesia universal que él compara con un océano (unidad) compuesto por varios mares (iglesias particulares - diversidad).<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Shuger, ‘Society Supernatural’, 130.

<sup>97</sup> Este aspecto lo desarrolla Shuger refiriéndose a la distinción de Varro (que nos ha llegado a través de san Agustín) entre religión cívica (popular y ritual) y natural (de la élite filosófica). Cf. Shuger, ‘Society Supernatural’, 123.

<sup>98</sup> LEP, III. 178.

Esta metáfora le permite afirmar la unidad esencial de la Iglesia católica, pero también defender la legitimidad y autonomía de las iglesias nacionales. En un mundo ideal, los cristianos podrían vivir en armonía, respetando, incluso celebrando, dicha diversidad, a la vez que reconociéndose mutuamente como miembros del cuerpo de Cristo. En ese mundo ideal, los cristianos no se acusarían mutuamente, ni lucharían en guerras unos contra otros, ni se excomulgarían por pensar diferente. Pues en ese mundo ideal, los teólogos y los líderes eclesiales, comprenderían como Hooker, Melancton y otros, que en lo esencial, ya existía la unidad, y lo demás era adiáfora. Ese es el mundo que Hooker anhelaba. Y la frustración que se vislumbra en las páginas de su obra, es fruto del choque entre esta visión utópica y la realidad.

Uno de los temas menos abordados en círculos académicos es el de los desafíos ecuménicos sociales de la Reforma del siglo XVI. Sin embargo, éstos tuvieron un impacto muy real sobre la vida de las personas, en lo cotidiano y las relaciones interpersonales y comunitarias. Hooker, menciona en su obra a uno de los retos que afectaba la convivencia y la vida religiosa entre protestantes y católico-romanos:

*In this consideration the answer of Calvin unto Farell concerning the children of Popish parents doth seem crazed: "Whereas", saith he, "you ask our judgment about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongst you, whether ministers of our order, professing the pure doctrine of the Gospel, may lawfully admit unto baptism an infant whose father is a stranger unto our Churches, and whose mother hath fallen from us unto the Papacy, so that both the parents are Popish, thus we have thought good to answer, namely, that it is an absurd thing for us to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And since Papist children are such we see not how it should be lawful to minister baptism unto them."*<sup>99</sup>

El modelo estricto, intransigente y exclusivista del calvinismo suizo ante los católico-romanos de su entorno dejaba perplejo a Hooker. Para el teólogo isabelino, que se resentía del modo en que también su Iglesia era tratada por Ginebra, los romanos, a pesar de mantener enseñanzas erróneas, eran parte de la Iglesia universal. Hooker afirma:

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<sup>99</sup> Ibíd. 176.

*As there are which make the Church of Rome utterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in their doctrines: so we have them amongst us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of England itself. But whatsoever the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though a main part, yet a part of the visible Church.*<sup>100</sup>

Su postura, no tanto a favor de Roma, como a favor de la tolerancia, la articula en el Libro V. Usa aquí otra metáfora para hablar de las divisiones de la Iglesia, y volver a afirmar su argumento central: que incluso sus adversarios teológicos son parte de la Iglesia de Cristo. Según Hooker:

*In like sense and meaning throughout all ages heretics have justly been hated as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet only so far forth cut off as their heresies have extended. Both heresy and many other crimes which wholly sever from God do sever from the Church of God in part only.*<sup>101</sup>

La razón de reconocer a Roma como parte legítima de la Iglesia universal, la fundamenta en dos premisas. Primero, en la humildad teológica que reconoce nuestra incapacidad de llegar a saberlo todo, especialmente, de conocer a las personas en profundidad. Segundo, en la afirmación de la coexistencia, dentro del seno de la Iglesia, de justos y pecadores. Para él:

*The Church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not His, yet must be reputed His by us that know not their inward thoughts, and them whose apparent wickedness testifieth even in the sight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpose are meant those parables which our Saviour in the Gospel hath concerning mixture of vice with virtue, light with darkness truth with error, as well an openly known and seen as a cunningly cloaked mixture.*<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Ibíd. 175.

<sup>101</sup> LEP, V. 396.

<sup>102</sup> Ibíd. 397.



Para Hooker, los círculos de inclusión (y exclusión), debían de ser ampliados y redefinidos. La base de dicha redefinición era doble. Por un lado, no podía excluirse de la Iglesia a quienes pensaran diferente en cuestiones adiáforas. La dificultad aquí radicaba en estar de acuerdo sobre qué era adiáfora y qué esencial. Por otro lado, el círculo de inclusión solo podía excluir a los apóstatas, es decir, a quienes hubieran renegado completamente de la fe cristiana. Para Hooker: *‘That which separateth therefore utterly, that which cutteth off clean from the visible Church of Christ is plain apostasy, direct denial, utter rejection of the whole Christian faith.’*<sup>103</sup>

Este aspecto de la eclesiología de Hooker ha influido enormemente sobre la vocación ecuménica anglicana hasta nuestros días. También ha puesto de manifiesto algunas de las debilidades del paradigma interpretativo hookeriano. Especialmente, el de la definición de adiáfora en distintos momentos históricos, y el de la importancia que distintos individuos o grupos han atribuido a los diferentes agentes de su hermenéutica conversacional. Los anglo-evangélicos poniendo el énfasis sobre la Biblia, los anglo-católicos sobre la tradición, y los liberales sobre la razón (y más recientemente también la experiencia).

Los desafíos ecuménicos a los que Hooker se tuvo que enfrentar, a pesar de los grandes avances del siglo XX, siguen existiendo en nuestros días. Es por ello, que su apelación a la unidad, en el contexto del siglo XVI, continúa estando en vigor en el siglo XXI. Sus palabras, que abogan por un modelo relacional de Iglesia, trascienden su contexto histórico: *‘For preservation of Christianity there is not anything more needful than that such as are of the visible Church have mutual fellowship and society one with another.’*<sup>104</sup>

### **3.7. Conclusión: Hooker y la identidad anglicana**

A modo de conclusión, como este capítulo ha demostrado, el llamado ‘arquitecto del anglicanismo’<sup>105</sup> en sus *Leyes* sentó las bases de una eclesiología moderada, inclusiva e intencional. La intencionalidad debe de subrayarse, pues Hooker ha sido acusado de un

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<sup>103</sup> *Ibíd.*

<sup>104</sup> LEP, III. 178.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Micks, ‘Hooker as Theologian’, 561-562.

continuismo meramente pragmático, incluso oportunista.<sup>106</sup> A pesar de que el discurso de Hooker parezca defensivo, en el contexto apologético de su obra, las razones que él da para defender el continuismo con ciertas tradiciones anteriores (liturgia y episcopado), son positivas. También su justificación de la reforma es en clave afirmativa; su razonamiento claro y directo. Según Hooker:

*Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either hurtful, or not so greatly profitable and necessary.*<sup>107</sup>

En este sentido, como ya se ha visto, la identidad anglicana de Hooker es una identidad reformada, que evoca el principio latente y presente en los *Artículos de ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*. Sin embargo, junto a los aspectos discontinuistas de la reforma, Hooker afirma la continuidad de este movimiento eclesial con estas palabras:

*They ask us where our Church did lurk, in what cave of the earth it slept for so many hundreds of years together before the birth of Martin Luther? As if we were of opinion that Luther did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end.*<sup>108</sup>

La necesidad de reforma no era un capricho, sino un imperativo moral. Según Hooker, igual que en el Nuevo Testamento las iglesias eran exhortadas a la renovación, en las epístolas y el libro de Apocalipsis, así también las iglesias renacentistas debían autoexaminarse y reformar su vida.<sup>109</sup> Y, aunque en un mundo ideal, todas las iglesias nacionales deberían de responder a este llamado de reforma, el hecho de que esto no ocurriese, no justificaba que una iglesia particular no respondiese a tal imperativo moral.

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. M. Anne Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c.1535–c.1585* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); y Haugaard, 'From the Reformation', 16-25.

<sup>107</sup> LEP, III. 205-206.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibíd.* 174.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *Ibíd.*

Hooker se lamentaba de la falta de voluntad de reforma por parte de Roma, y afirmaba que, '[t]he indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them, could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty.'<sup>110</sup>

El mérito de la obra de Hooker estriba en su capacidad, por un lado, para dibujar lo que Healy llama una 'eclesiología profética'<sup>111</sup>, es decir, capaz de imaginar la Iglesia desde la perspectiva del reino de Dios; y por otro lado, en ofrecer un paradigma hermenéutico capaz de integrar continuismo y cambio dentro de un mismo sistema. Las claves de este paradigma son, como se ha mostrado, la conversación entre los cuatro agentes hermenéuticos Biblia-razón-tradición-Espíritu, y el uso del principio de adiáfora. Este último elemento es fundamental en la eclesiología hookeriana y en la identidad de la emergente *ecclesia anglicana* del siglo XVI.

Al integrar continuismo y cambio, Hooker afirma lo que algunos han denominado como una *via media* anglicana.<sup>112</sup> Esta vía media, no es un punto intermedio entre Roma o Ginebra, o incluso entre Ginebra y Wittenberg. Tampoco es una síntesis que ignora las diferencias y pretende crear un híbrido teológico indiscriminado. Sino, más bien, un espacio teológico en el que Roma, Ginebra y Wittenberg pueden coexistir en tensión creativa, afirmando una ortodoxia generosa y celebrando la diversidad como fortaleza eclesiológica. Esta vía media integradora, como ya se demostró en tiempos de Hooker, y se ha visto a lo largo de la historia del anglicanismo, no está libre de retos importantes, algunos de los cuales se analizan en los capítulos siguientes. Sin embargo, continúa aportando un modelo y un talante teológicos con un gran potencial para tender puentes allí donde las fracturas teológicas parecen, a priori, insuperables.

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<sup>110</sup> Ibíd. 175. Llama la atención aquí que Hooker no reconoce, o al menos no se pronuncia sobre las reformas emanadas del Concilio de Trento (1545-63).

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Nicholas M. Healy, *Church, World and the Christian Life: practical-prophetic ecclesiology* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000).

<sup>112</sup> Este latinismo se empleó desde el siglo XVI hasta la actualidad. Cf. C. Sydney Carter, *The Anglican Via Media* (London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, 1927).

## Capítulo 4: F.D. Maurice y la síntesis anglicana

### 4.1. El hombre, su época y su obra

Las primeras décadas del siglo XIX fueron el escenario de profundas crisis y revoluciones sociales que azotaron al viejo continente. La Revolución Francesa y las guerras napoleónicas (1789-1815) hicieron temblar los cimientos del orden establecido.<sup>113</sup> A su vez, abrieron las puertas a cambios sociales que, en Francia, tuvieron un impacto directo sobre la Iglesia nacional. La abolición de los derechos del alto clero, la apropiación por parte del Estado de bienes eclesiásticos, y el cuestionamiento intelectual y racional de la religión, surgido de los planteamientos de la Ilustración, pusieron en peligro la supervivencia de la Iglesia. Estos cambios crearon un tsunami ideológico y social que impactó sobre el resto de Europa occidental, e Inglaterra no fue una excepción.

En el Reino Unido, además de estos cambios ideológicos importados de Francia, se dieron importantes cambios internos, sociales y económicos, que afectaron al tejido de la población. La Revolución Industrial, que comenzó en Inglaterra a finales del siglo XVIII, se expandió y consolidó a lo largo del XIX. Esto tuvo un impacto demográfico sin precedentes. La población de Gran Bretaña casi se triplicó en las primeras siete décadas del siglo XIX, pasando de diez a veinte seis millones de habitantes.<sup>114</sup> La mayoría de la población abandonó las zonas rurales y emigró a las ciudades, donde la industria continuaba creciendo. La consecuencia directa de este desarrollo demográfico fue el nacimiento de una clase obrera, que sirvió de motor humano en las factorías victorianas, y un auge desproporcionado de la pobreza en las ciudades, que se convirtió en el desafío social más importante del siglo.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Para ampliar conocimientos sobre este tema véase: Peter McPhee, *La Revolución Francesa, 1789-1799: una nueva historia* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2009); Fernando Prieto, *La Revolución Francesa* (Madrid: Istmo, 1989); Dale K. Van Kley, *Los Orígenes Religiosos de la Revolución Francesa* (Madrid: Encuentro, 2002); y Michel Vovelle, *Introducción a la Revolución Francesa* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2000).

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 7.

<sup>115</sup> Para ampliar conocimientos sobre este tema véase: W.H. Hutton, *The Age of Revolution: 1648-1815* (London: Rivington, 1908); E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1962); y Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (Hamondsworth: Penguin, 1961).

El panorama religioso inglés decimonónico tuvo además unas peculiaridades propias emanadas tanto de su historia como del contexto del momento. A los desafíos sociales de la Revolución Industrial, había de sumarse el de una crisis de fe en la religión oficial, que había gozado de importantes privilegios a lo largo del siglo XVIII, y que a principios del XIX se mantenía vinculada al poder político y a las élites sociales. Los retos internos de la Iglesia de Inglaterra incluían desde la desigualdad en los salarios y en las condiciones laborales de los clérigos, hasta la corrupción y los abusos de poder. Además, desde dentro se estaba viviendo una profunda crisis de identidad y de autoridad, acentuada por las ideologías partidistas de anglo-católicos, liberales y anglo-evangélicos, y por los desafíos intelectuales procedentes del darwinismo y la crítica bíblica. Como consecuencia de todo ello, sobre todo en las emergentes ciudades industriales del norte del país, la Iglesia de Inglaterra comenzó a perder peso y su influencia fue cada vez más cuestionada. A su vez, en este período, proliferaron los grupos cristianos ‘no-conformistas’<sup>116</sup> y el catolicismo romano comenzó a tomar fuerzas con la inmigración irlandesa y la conversión de algunos clérigos relevantes a la Iglesia de Roma.<sup>117</sup>

En este periodo se llevó a cabo la denominada ‘segunda Reforma’ del anglicanismo inglés. Su origen hay que buscarlo en el Parlamento entre 1828 y 1832. Una serie de leyes reformadoras intentaron dar respuesta a las realidades arriba descritas, renovando las estructuras internas, redefiniendo las relaciones Iglesia-Estado, y regularizando la situación legal de las demás confesiones cristianas. Entre tanto, la crisis identitaria interna, asociada a la constante lucha teológica y dialéctica entre los diversos grupos eclesiales, resultó en un fructífero período de creatividad teológica, en el que numerosos autores, con más o menos éxito, se embarcaron en la tarea de re-imaginar y

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<sup>116</sup> ‘No-conformistas’ (en inglés, ‘*non-conformists*’) o ‘disidentes’ (en inglés, ‘*dissenters*’), eran los apelativos que recibían los grupos protestantes ingleses que tenían su origen en la Iglesia de Inglaterra (como los metodistas) o que se formaron fuera de ella (como los bautistas).

<sup>117</sup> El caso más significativo fue la conversión de John Henry Newman. Para ampliar conocimientos sobre este personaje véase: Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: una biografía* (Madrid: Palabra, 2010); John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (London: Longman, 1864); y Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and his Age* (London: DLT, 2003). Para un estudio comparado entre la eclesiología de Newman y Maurice, véase: Jeremy N. Morris, ‘Newman and Maurice on the Via Media of the Anglican Church: Contrasts and Affinities’, *ATR* 85.4 (2003), 623-40.

redefinir la esencia y la misión de la Iglesia nacional, como parte de este proceso reformador.<sup>118</sup> Para Morris, en este período:

*Far from collapsing under the strain of internal corruption and external hostility, the Church of England had discovered a new vitality. It had undergone something like a 'Second Reformation', its most thoroughgoing reorganization since its 'First Reformation' of the sixteenth century.*<sup>119</sup>

Como yuxtaposición a esta crisis nacional, la Iglesia inglesa experimentó en el siglo XIX una importante expansión internacional. Las misiones anglicanas en los nuevos territorios del Imperio Británico y en sus ex-colonias se convertirían en los gérmenes de nuevas iglesias nacionales y darían lugar a la Comunión Anglicana.<sup>120</sup> Además, las relaciones ecuménicas, sobre todo, con los protestantes alemanes, pasaron por uno de sus mejores momentos, con la creación del obispado ecuménico de Jerusalén, entre anglicanos y luteranos. Este último asunto fue, sin embargo, fuente de controversia dentro de la Iglesia de Inglaterra entre los seguidores del Movimiento de Oxford, que buscaban un acercamiento a Roma y a las iglesias orientales, y el resto de anglicanos que apostaban por tender puentes de unidad, además, hacia las iglesias históricas de la Reforma.

Este es el contexto en el que vivió el gran teólogo victoriano Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872): una época de tremendos cambios sociales, de importantes desafíos religiosos y de una crisis de autoridad e identidad del anglicanismo inglés. Esta crisis llevó a Maurice a articular una eclesiología profundamente católica, en su sentido más amplio, y auténticamente protestante, en su sentido nacional y reformado. Para críticos posteriores, como el arzobispo de Dublín e hispanista, Richard Trench, Maurice fue el más importante teólogo y genio anglicano del siglo XIX.<sup>121</sup> Ramsey, de acuerdo con este último, afirmó que la obra de Maurice fue capaz de mostrar las 'raíces de la unidad'

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<sup>118</sup> Entre ellos: Samuel Coleridge, en Londres; John Henry Newman y Edward Pusey dentro del Movimiento de Oxford; y George Tomlinson y John Sterling como miembros de la Cambridge Conversazione Society, también conocidos como los Apóstoles de Cambridge.

<sup>119</sup> Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 25.

<sup>120</sup> Este aspecto se desarrollará en más profundidad en el siguiente capítulo dedicado a la formación de la Comunión Anglicana.

<sup>121</sup> Trench escribió: *'He is in my mind the only man of genius in theology that has been an ardent Church of England man for a hundred and fifty years.'* Richard Chenevix Trench, *Letters and Memorials* (London: KPT, 1888), 217-18.

esencial del anglicanismo de forma ejemplar.<sup>122</sup> Y el teólogo y obispo anglicano John Moorman, llegó a afirmar que: ‘*Most modern theology is in some way indebted to Maurice's clear and courageous thinking.*’<sup>123</sup> El impacto que su visión de la Iglesia ha tenido sobre generaciones futuras también ha sido enorme, no solo sobre influyentes teólogos anglicanos,<sup>124</sup> sino sobre la pastoral social de la Iglesia,<sup>125</sup> y el desarrollo de una metodología ecuménica contemporánea que ha dado importantes frutos en las últimas décadas.<sup>126</sup>

Maurice nació en Lowestoft, en el sureste de Inglaterra, en 1805, en un hogar no-conformista. Su padre era pastor de una congregación unitaria,<sup>127</sup> y durante su infancia creció y se educó en esta tradición. Sin embargo, durante su adolescencia, el joven Frederick vivió el rencor propio de los conflictos religiosos en el seno de su familia, cuando su madre y hermanas se convirtieron a un cristianismo calvinista tan fervoroso como intransigente. Maurice mismo, durante algunos años, abrazó esta tradición evangélica. Sin embargo, su constante búsqueda espiritual le llevaría, durante su formación universitaria, primero en Cambridge y posteriormente en Oxford, a acercarse poco a poco a la Iglesia nacional. Las divisiones religiosas de su familia, no obstante, le marcarían para el resto de su vida, igual que su constante deseo de buscar la unidad dentro de la Iglesia. Al final de su vida, Maurice escribiría: ‘*The desire for unity and the search for unity, both in the nation and in the Church, have haunted me all my days.*’<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Arthur Michael Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice and the conflicts of Modern Theology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1951), 113-14.

<sup>123</sup> Citado por: Roger Ellis, *Who's Who in Victorian Britain* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1997), 231-32.

<sup>124</sup> Especialmente su influencia se ha hecho notar en Ramsey, Sykes y en la actualidad en Peter Ward. Ver bibliografía.

<sup>125</sup> Maurice fue el fundador del ‘Socialismo Cristiano’ en Inglaterra y defensor y precursor de una mayor implicación social de la Iglesia nacional en los problemas del momento, especialmente pobreza y analfabetismo.

<sup>126</sup> A nivel ecuménico su metodología ha inspirado las conversaciones interconfesionales con Luteranos alemanes y escandinavos a finales del siglo XX, y ha resultado en los grandes acuerdos de intercomuniación de Meissen y Porvoo. También han sido la base de las discusiones teológicas con católico-romanos (ARCIC) y ortodoxos (ICAOTD). Su influencia, no obstante, se ha limitado principalmente a la teología occidental.

<sup>127</sup> El unitarismo cristiano del siglo XIX era muy diverso y seguía un modelo congregacional. El rasgo principal que compartían era la doble afirmación de la unidad divina y del no trinitarismo. Algunas de estas iglesias no trinitarias veían a Cristo como la encarnación de Yavé y no distinguían entre las tres personas de la Trinidad. Cristo era Dios hecho hombre, y el Espíritu Santo era el Espíritu de Jesús. Otras iglesias unitarias tenían una teología más arriana y adopcionista, distinguiendo entre Dios Padre y Cristo, como hijo humano elegido (‘adoptado’) por el Padre, y el mesías de la nueva alianza. Cf. Jeremy Morris, *To Build Christ's Kingdom: F.D. Maurice and his writings* (Norwich: Canterbury Press. 2007), 5.

<sup>128</sup> Citado por: Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice*, 99.

Su conversión al anglicanismo en Oxford, a los veintiséis años, y su posterior ordenación en 1834, fueron el resultado de un largo y agonizante proceso de reflexión teológica y existencial.<sup>129</sup> Su integración en la Iglesia nacional fue la consecuencia lógica de su conversión a un cristianismo trinitario, reflejado fielmente, según Maurice, en los *Treinta y nueve artículos*. También estuvo ligada a su convicción profunda de que la *ecclesia anglicana* encarnaba, en la nación, la esencia del reino de Dios. A esto prestaré más atención en el análisis de su eclesiología en este capítulo. Pero esta conversión tuvo, además, una dimensión personal teleológica. El teólogo victoriano ingresó en la Iglesia de Inglaterra convencido de su llamado y con un propósito claro: el de reformar el estado de cosas existente. Según Maurice: ‘*The strong sense of a vocation [...] to be a Church Reformer has struggled in my own mind with a great natural indolence and despondency.*’<sup>130</sup>

Maurice ciertamente plantó las semillas de reforma y de cambio, no solo eclesiológico, en su particular visión del anglicanismo, sino social, como fundador del Socialismo Cristiano. Esta ideología de justicia social no era meramente teórica, sino que iba acompañada de hechos reales, como la creación de centros de formación de adultos (hombres y mujeres) en Londres. Además, en su prolífica carrera como escritor, abordó numerosos asuntos y disciplinas, desde la filosofía y la metafísica, hasta la teología bíblica y la eclesiología; y desde las reformas educativas nacionales al ecumenismo y las relaciones internacionales. No en todas estas áreas tuvo el mismo éxito. Pero en muchas de ellas su espíritu reformador dejó una huella duradera.

A lo largo de su ministerio como presbítero anglicano, Maurice ejerció como párroco, como capellán de hospital, y como docente. Como docente, primero fue profesor universitario de literatura e historia inglesa, en el King’s College de Londres, donde fue forzado a dimitir en 1853, debido al aparente universalismo de su soteriología. A partir de esta fecha se dedicó a escribir, al trabajo parroquial, y a dirigir proyectos sociales en Londres. En 1866 obtuvo la cátedra de teología moral y filosofía moral de la Universidad de Cambridge, que mantuvo hasta su muerte en 1872.

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<sup>129</sup> Brose hace un análisis exhaustivo sobre la naturaleza de su conversión. Cf. Olive J. Brose, *Frederick Denison Maurice: Rebellious Conformist* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1971), 3-27.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibíd.* 6.



Maurice fue una persona compleja y llena de paradojas, que atrajo tanto simpatías como críticas a lo largo de su vida.<sup>131</sup> Por una parte, fue un buscador insaciable de la unidad y la armonía social y religiosa. Por otra parte, un apologista incansable capaz de atacar a sus adversarios teológicos de forma implacable. Ramsey describe su personalidad afirmando que: *‘In the character of Maurice there was an unusual blending of gentleness and violence.’*<sup>132</sup> Su pensamiento religioso y político también estaba lleno de aparentes contradicciones, haciéndole muy difícil de encasillar. Por una parte, Maurice era un inconformista radical, que luchaba por el cambio social y la renovación espiritual de su Iglesia y su nación. Por otra, tenía una visión por lo general conservadora de las instituciones de la familia, la Iglesia y el Estado. Clayton, afirmando la complejidad de su pensamiento, se pregunta: *‘what kind of effective social action could be consistent with his essentially conservative view of society.’*<sup>133</sup> Y Brose analiza su paradójica personalidad afirmando que: *‘This new vision embraced not only a fundamental religious radicalism but an equally fundamental religious conformity as part of this same conversion experience.’*<sup>134</sup>

También su estilo literario es complejo y una mezcla de oscurantismo y claridad. Leer a Maurice, no solo por su voluminosa bibliografía, sino por su estilo denso y, a menudo, enrevesado, puede llegar a ser una tarea frustrante y difícil. Parte de esta dificultad estriba en que, especialmente en su obra apologética, Maurice presenta sus argumentos mediante complejas estructuras gramaticales, haciendo un abundante uso de oraciones subordinadas e interrogativas cuyo sentido, retórico o no, cuesta descifrar.<sup>135</sup>

Para este estudio, centrado principalmente en la eclesiología de F.D. Maurice, me basaré sobre todo en su obra eclesiológica por excelencia: *The Kingdom of Christ (El Reino de Cristo)*.<sup>136</sup> Esta obra apologética, está compuesta por dos partes. La primera parte del libro contiene cuatro capítulos en los que trata varios ‘sistemas’ o escuelas de pensamiento religioso de su época: el quakerismo, las principales ramas del

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<sup>131</sup> Para una relación de sus detractores y simpatizantes, véase: Alec R. Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice* (London: SCM, 1948), 9-11.

<sup>132</sup> Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice*, 41.

<sup>133</sup> James W. Clayton, ‘Reason and Unity in F.D. Maurice’, *ATR* 54 (1972), 304.

<sup>134</sup> Brose, *Rebellious Conformist*, 8. Cf. *Ibíd.*, 89.

<sup>135</sup> Esta opinión es compartida por dos de sus principales estudiosos, Ramsey y Morris. Ver: Ramsey, *Maurice*, 41; y Morris, *To Build Christ’s Kingdom*, 25-27.

<sup>136</sup> F.D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1843. Segunda Edición). Esta obra a partir de aquí aparecerá abreviada como TKOC.

protestantismo (luteranismo, calvinismo, zwinglianismo y armenianismo), el unitarismo, y una serie de movimientos religiosos, filosóficos y políticos del momento. En su análisis de estas corrientes es, por lo general, metódico. Primero, describe cada sistema con un énfasis en sus aspectos esenciales y positivos, luego ofrece una serie de críticas u objeciones a cada uno, y finalmente hace un análisis de la praxis de cada sistema. En la segunda parte del libro, Maurice analiza la esencia de la Iglesia católica o universal apelando a la noción de una ‘sociedad espiritual’, formada por una humanidad que tiene una determinada ‘constitución moral y espiritual’.

Para Ramsey, *El Reino de Cristo* no es solo la obra más importante de Maurice, sino que tiene un carácter profético, pues adelanta la dirección en que la teología anglicana evolucionaría en el futuro, conectando eclesiología con cristología y soteriología.<sup>137</sup> Esta influencia, que ciertamente se dio a finales del siglo XIX y principios de XX en teólogos como Stewart Headlam y Henry Scott Holland, ha perdido peso en décadas recientes. No obstante, autores contemporáneos como Jeremy Morris y Paul Avis han hecho un importante esfuerzo por rescatar su obra.<sup>138</sup>

Además, haré referencia a algunos de los ensayos y escritos menores donde Maurice aborda su visión de Iglesia. En concreto, sus *Theological Essays*,<sup>139</sup> especialmente el número 15, titulado ‘Sobre la unidad de la Iglesia’; su colección de sermones publicadas bajo el título: *The Church A Family*,<sup>140</sup> y un breve epistolario de carácter apologético, publicado tras la primera edición de *The Kingdom of Christ*, y durante la controversia del establecimiento de la sede episcopal ecuménica (anglicana-luterana) en Jerusalén.<sup>141</sup>

Estos escritos, publicados en la década de los cuarenta y cincuenta, contienen las claves teológicas de la eclesiología mauriciano que se explorará en estas páginas. Reflejan, además, la visión constante de la Iglesia que Maurice mantuvo a lo largo de su vida, desde su conversión al anglicanismo en 1831 hasta su muerte en 1872. Por otro lado, en estas obras expone su concepción de una sacramentología anglicana basada en los *Treinta y nueve artículos*, y de un principio de autoridad eclesial fundado sobre el

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<sup>137</sup> Según Ramsey: ‘it is a prophetic work’. Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice*, 36.

<sup>138</sup> Ver bibliografía.

<sup>139</sup> F.D. Maurice, *Theological Essays* (London: Redfield, 1854).

<sup>140</sup> F.D. Maurice, *The Church A Family: twelve sermons on the occasional services of the Prayer-Book* (Cambridge: MacMillan & Co., 1850).

<sup>141</sup> F.D. Maurice, *Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer* (London: J.W. Parker, 1842. Second Edition).

episcopado histórico. Por último, en ellas desarrolla lo que aquí denomino como un método de síntesis esencialista, que Maurice aplicó tanto al anglicanismo como al contexto ecuménico. Dado que este método es vital para su eclesiología, dedicaré el siguiente apartado a su análisis.

#### **4.2. La síntesis esencialista de Maurice**

En su búsqueda por la unidad eclesial, dentro y fuera del anglicanismo, Maurice desarrolló un método inductivo cuyo fin era encontrar los principios, o la esencia, de lo que significa ser Iglesia.<sup>142</sup> Este método, como ya se ha apuntado, describía primero los aspectos esenciales y positivos de cada sistema o corriente teológica; luego ofrecía una serie de críticas u objeciones a cada uno; a continuación, realizaba un análisis de la praxis de cada sistema; por último, tomaba los principios esenciales de cada sistema, desvestidos del sistema en sí, y los armonizaba en una síntesis teológica y eclesiológica que afirmaba la complementariedad de estos elementos.

Su método cuenta con importantes influencias externas. Por un lado, bebe de la filosofía platónica y aristotélica que Maurice estudió en Cambridge; por otro, se inspira en la obra del poeta, filósofo y teólogo inglés Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), uno de los fundadores del Romanticismo en Inglaterra.<sup>143</sup> Entre los aspectos teológicos y filosóficos que Maurice compartió con Coleridge se puede citar:

*That theology is concerned with God Himself, and not with systems of thought about Him; that theology is not in vacuo, but the consummation of all other studies; that divine truth is accessible to every man and not only to those capable of certain experiences, and is apprehended by the whole man and not by some spiritual faculty alone; that the Reason is more inclusive than the Understanding;*

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<sup>142</sup> Para el teólogo inglés, lo importante es el método, y no los sistemas o escuelas eclesiales que distorsionan la verdad. En *El Reino de Cristo* afirma: 'Now to me these words seem not only not synonymous, but the greatest contraries imaginable – the one indicating that which is most opposed to life, freedom, variety; and the other that without which they cannot exist.' TKOC, 220.

<sup>143</sup> Para ampliar conocimientos sobre este autor véase: M. Martínez, *El pensamiento político de Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Eunsa: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1995); y R. Ashton, *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

[...]; that there is a Catholic and Apostolic Church beyond all parties and systems.<sup>144</sup>

La influencia de Coleridge sobre Maurice se ve también en su comprensión de la fe. Para ambos, la fe existe *‘in the synthesis of reason and the individual will, a conception that reunited the Catholic idea of faith as intellectual assent to divine revelation and the post-Reformation Protestant tendency to see faith as an act of will.’*<sup>145</sup> Pero sus diferencias con Coleridge fueron importantes. Maurice se mantuvo fiel a la Biblia como autoridad fundamental y fuente de reflexión teológica y eclesiológica. Ramsey describe a Maurice como *‘a theologian within the Bible, in a way that Coleridge never did.’*<sup>146</sup> El otro aspecto en el que ambos divergen es que para Maurice el acontecimiento de la encarnación del Verbo divino fue un hecho histórico que cambió para siempre la historia de la humanidad en su relación con su creador.<sup>147</sup>

Se pueden observar, al menos, cinco claves importantes en su método de síntesis esencialista:

(1) Un empleo abundante de la Biblia, que combina reverencia por las Escrituras, y una visión moderna de los libros sagrados. La Biblia es fuente de revelación directa, pero su interpretación ha de hacerse en comunidad, y la Iglesia institucional, mediante sus liturgias, credos y artículos, ofrece un marco interpretativo sobre ciertos aspectos. La inspiración de la Biblia está conectada con la inspiración difusa de Dios en toda la creación. No se trata, por tanto, de un dictado divino, sino de una doble inspiración espiritual: en el autor original y en el lector actual.

(2) Una visión teleológica y evolutiva de la historia, en la que gradualmente se revela el propósito de Dios para el universo entero. Tanto la historia bíblica como la historia de la Iglesia, forman parte del gran corpúsculo de tradición judeo-cristiana que informa cómo ha de organizarse la sociedad, en base a la familia, la nación y la noción de universalidad que encarna la Iglesia. Su análisis de capitulación histórica, al contrario que

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<sup>144</sup> Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice*, 19.

<sup>145</sup> Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 40.

<sup>146</sup> Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice*, 20.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. *Ibíd.*

los tractarianos,<sup>148</sup> no se salta por alto la Reforma como un mal necesario, sino que la afirma como una contribución positiva para corregir los excesos de Roma.

(3) Un entendimiento filosófico de la razón que data de la pre-Ilustración. La razón, para Maurice, no es una mera facultad de cálculo, como defendían Locke y Hume, sino ‘*a spiritual capacity, reflecting the indwelling image of God*’<sup>149</sup> en la persona, como afirmaba Coleridge. En este sentido, la razón es diferente al entendimiento.

(4) Una distinción aristotélica entre sustancia, o esencia que permanece en todo cambio, y accidentes, las manifestaciones superficiales o materiales, y por tanto cambiantes de la sustancia. La razón humana, además, es capaz de percibir la esencia de las cosas, y no solo los accidentes.<sup>150</sup> Esta distinción va más allá de la noción de adiafóra de Hooker. En ella lo que se distingue no son los elementos importantes de los secundarios, como una opción pragmática, sino los elementos esenciales e inmutables de los accidentales y mutables. Éstos últimos, para Maurice, tienen un carácter negativo.<sup>151</sup>

(5) Una reflexión eclesiológica que tiene su origen en la praxis y en la realidad existente. Ramsey observa que: ‘*Maurice does what no dogmatic theologian of his time succeeded in doing, and what few dogmatic theologians of any time have done – he meets people on their own ground.*’<sup>152</sup> Esta es la base de su método, el partir del contexto, de la realidad, de las enseñanzas y de la ideología de otros, con el mayor rigor y la mayor honestidad posible. Sin embargo, si el punto de partida de Maurice es la realidad social y teológica de la Iglesia, el destino de toda reflexión eclesiológica ha de ser el apuntar a una nueva realidad, más auténtica, que trascienda la presente, y se base no en los accidentes sino en la esencia de lo que significa ser Iglesia.

Merece la pena mencionar dos aspectos importantes del método mauriciano. Uno es que, al igual que Hooker, Maurice hace hincapié en la noción de humildad teológica

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<sup>148</sup> Apelación recibida por los miembros del Movimiento de Oxford que buscaba la renovación católica dentro del anglicanismo y el acercamiento a Roma.

<sup>149</sup> Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 40.

<sup>150</sup> Maurice, en su comentario sobre la conversación entre Jesús y Nicodemo en el cuarto Evangelio (Jn.3), conecta la idea de ‘nacer de nuevo’ o ‘nacimiento espiritual’ con la capacidad de percibir espiritualmente la realidad del Reino de Dios (*‘the power of perceiving that kingdom which surrounds all men’*), y distingue entre la esencia y los accidentes o circunstancias. Ver: F.D. Maurice, *The Gospel of St. John* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1857. Segunda Edición), 89-90.

<sup>151</sup> Maurice tenía a Hooker en gran estima y consideraba que la obra hookeriana ofrecía una exposición magistral de la eclesiológica católica-reformada anglicana. Según él, ‘*Hooker’s work is the specimen of a class, though certainly the highest specimen.*’ TKOC, 539.

<sup>152</sup> Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice*, 27.

como principio cristiano saludable, apelando a todas las partes a ser humildes.<sup>153</sup> El otro es que Maurice no dirige su crítica a las personas, como hacían los defensores de estos sistemas, sino a las ideas. Aquí vale la pena reproducir sus palabras de forma íntegra:

*It will be observed that I have not charged the authors of these systems with the tendencies which they commonly impute to each other. I have not said that the Liberal wishes to substitute Rationalism for Orthodoxy; that the Evangelical wishes to establish the principle of Dissent; that the Catholic systematizer wishes to introduce Popery.*<sup>154</sup>

Entre las críticas que el método mauriciano atrajo en su día estaban las de eclecticismo y sincretismo religiosos. Maurice se defendió de estas críticas afirmando que el objetivo de su obra no era el amalgamamiento de las distintas escuelas teológicas dentro del anglicanismo, sino el sustituir estos sistemas eclesiales por la verdadera Iglesia.<sup>155</sup> Nadie, por tanto, debía temer caer en el sincretismo o el eclecticismo. Tampoco debían temer perder la fe, a menos que esa fe fuese en las personas. En este sentido, afirmó con dureza, que: *'If his faith be in the doctrines of men, and not in the wisdom of God, the sooner it falls the better. If it be in Him, whose name is Truth, to Him be the care of it committed.'*<sup>156</sup>

Entre las críticas más recientes a su método, articuladas por Jeremy Morris,<sup>157</sup> están la falta de sistematización eclesiológica en su definición de catolicidad, y el trato igualitario que Maurice da en su obra a las ideas de denominaciones cristianas heterodoxas y ortodoxas.<sup>158</sup> El primer punto, aunque ciertamente complica la labor del estudioso de Maurice, y pueda constatarse como una debilidad de su eclesiología, es difícilmente criticable. Pues Maurice no se preocupó en articular definiciones claras y precisas de la catolicidad de la Iglesia que sirviesen como base de inclusión de algunos y de exclusión de otros. La falta de nitidez en este caso, si no fue intencional, al menos era

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<sup>153</sup> 'Let us try by all means to be humble', exhorta a sus adversarios teológicos en TKOC, 546.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibíd.* 551.

<sup>155</sup> *Cf. Ibíd.* 554.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibíd.*

<sup>157</sup> *Cf. Morris, F.D. Maurice, 72-73.*

<sup>158</sup> Entiéndase aquí trinitaria (ortodoxa) y no-trinitaria (heterodoxa). En el segundo grupo estarían los quáqueros y los unitarios.

consistente con la teología de Maurice en su conjunto. Esta reticencia a definir límites precisos la pone de manifiesto cuando escribe: *'[w]hat is this Catholic Church? If you mean by that question, what are its limits? Who have a right to say that they belong to it? I cannot answer the question; I believe only One can answer it, I am content to leave it with him.'*<sup>159</sup>

El segundo punto es más complejo, pues el teólogo anglicano parecía contradecirse al establecer, por un lado, ciertos signos de catolicidad imprescindibles para ser parte de la Iglesia universal, y por otro lado afirmar que ciertos grupos cristianos que no compartían todos estos signos no dejaban por ello de formar parte de la Iglesia. Esto se ve especialmente en cómo trata a las iglesias protestantes europeas que no mantenían el episcopado histórico, evitando en todo momento emitir un juicio sobre su integridad eclesial. A la luz de sus escritos, podría concluirse que Maurice era capaz de vivir con límites porosos.

De su método de síntesis esencialista emana, en gran parte, su teología de la Iglesia, incluida su eclesiología anglicana; su visión sacramental de la realidad y su sacramentología; su comprensión del principio de autoridad episcopal como forma de gobierno eclesial; y su personal compromiso con la unidad de toda la Iglesia y con un ecumenismo práctico, y no solo teórico. Comenzaré con el primer punto, el de la eclesiología mauriciana.

#### **4.3. La Iglesia en la teología de Maurice**

Maurice, el apologista, al igual que Hooker en el siglo XVI, y numerosos teólogos anglicanos a lo largo de la historia del anglicanismo, escribió hacia dentro y hacia fuera. Es decir, buscó defender a la Iglesia de Inglaterra tanto de los ataques externos – de otros grupos protestantes y del catolicismo-romano – como de los desafíos internos, de luchas y divisiones partidistas. Su eclesiología, por tanto, emana de este contexto apologético y fue articulada, como ya se ha apuntado, no de forma sistemática, sino apologética y contextual.

El método de síntesis esencialista es uno de varios instrumentos utilizados por Maurice para definir su visión de la Iglesia. Otros instrumentos son su análisis teleológico

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<sup>159</sup> F.D. Maurice, *Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Parker, 1846), cxxlv.

de la historia de la Iglesia; su lectura histórico-crítica de la Biblia; y su particular comprensión del círculo hermenéutico en su exégesis bíblica. La preocupación de Maurice no era el sostener una ortodoxia doctrinal clásica divorciada de la realidad social de sus días, sino una especie de ‘orto-praxis’.<sup>160</sup> Como ejemplo citar que en la década de los cuarenta y parte de los cincuenta, Maurice se dedicó, entre otras cosas, a dirigir estudios bíblicos semanales en su propia casa. En estos encuentros el método seguido era muy similar al que en el siglo XX han seguido los teólogos de la liberación. Es decir, se comenzaba con la realidad y la experiencia de las personas, que servía como marco interpretativo de los textos bíblicos, y estos a su vez informaban su realidad y contribuían a transformarlas. Estas reuniones se convirtieron en la base del Socialismo Cristiano de Maurice y sus colegas.<sup>161</sup>

En la dedicatoria a la segunda edición de *El Reino de Cristo*, Maurice definió su visión de la Iglesia, no como institución fundamentalmente dogmática, sino como una hermandad o comunidad esencialmente teológica y teocéntrica. Según él:

*In this way there rose up before me the idea of a CHURCH UNIVERSAL, not built upon human inventions or human faith, but upon the very nature of God himself, and upon the union which He has formed with his creatures: a church revealed to man as a fixed and eternal reality [...].*<sup>162</sup>

Ni los ‘inventos humanos’, una referencia al catolicismo-romano, ni la ‘fe humana’, una referencia al protestantismo que exaltaba la fe del individuo por encima de la comunidad, pueden actuar como base de la verdadera Iglesia. El único cimiento, su único centro, según Maurice, debía de ser Dios mismo. Dios es el origen de la Iglesia y su fuente de unidad y de unión con y entre las personas. A lo largo de su obra, el lenguaje teocéntrico dará lugar a uno cristocéntrico, conectado con la idea del reino de Cristo.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Morris afirma: ‘It would be more accurate to say that his primary emphasis was on orthopraxis – hence his claim that the faith of the poor, the simple, the uneducated was resistant to the distortions of theological systems. But hence also his conviction that propositional tests of belief would contract the breadth and depth of the Gospel.’ Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 128.

<sup>161</sup> Según Morris: ‘These meetings were an exercise in applied exegesis, with the biblical text used as the means through which contemporary social, political and ecclesiastical difficulties could be explored.’ *Ibíd.* 141.

<sup>162</sup> TKOC, 16-17.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, 315; 408.



La metáfora por excelencia de Maurice para describir a la Iglesia universal fue, precisamente, el reino de Cristo. Aunque el autor inglés nunca se refiere a esta imagen como metáfora, sino como realidad.<sup>164</sup> Maurice veía en las páginas de las Escrituras hebreas los precedentes históricos de dicho reino. La constitución u orden espiritual de la Iglesia tenía sus raíces en la historia del pueblo de Israel, y en el pacto que Yavé hizo, primero con una familia, la de Abraham, y luego con una nación entera, el pueblo judío. Esta alianza entre Dios y los seres humanos, estaba basada en la idea de un reino, que al principio tuvo una manifestación física y geográfica, en los reinos de David y Salomón, pero que apuntaba a un reino universal, invisible, sin fronteras, cuyo rey era Cristo. Este reino, a pesar de ser espiritual, estaba encarnado y tenía su expresión histórica en las iglesias nacionales. Y es este reino lo que él denominó como ‘sociedad espiritual’.<sup>165</sup> Para Maurice, la Biblia afirmaba claramente que:

*Jesus Christ came upon earth to reveal a kingdom, which kingdom is founded upon a union established in his person between man and God - between the visible and invisible world - and ultimately upon a revelation of the divine NAME.*<sup>166</sup>

Como sociedad espiritual con una dimensión histórica y tangible, la Iglesia no era solo un anticipo o un signo profético del reino de Dios, sino la manifestación plena del reino de Cristo. Así lo afirmó de forma inequívoca: ‘*the truth that Christ's Church is a kingdom, and not merely a collection of sects bound together in the profession of particular dogmas.*’<sup>167</sup>

Esta identificación total entre Iglesia y reino de Cristo, parecía ignorar la tensión escatológica neotestamentaria, según la cual el reino de Dios, aunque de alguna forma ya está presente, todavía no se ha manifestado en plenitud. Maurice afirmaba la presencia actual de este reino – que ya está aquí – en numerosas ocasiones: cuando declaraba que Cristo vino a revelar, no a iniciar, el reino de Dios; cuando afirmaba que el bautismo no

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<sup>164</sup> En relación a la visión que los reformadores isabelinos tenían sobre la iglesia como reino, Maurice afirma que, para ellos, ‘*this kingdom was a reality and not a metaphor*’. TKOC, 540.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 221-239.

<sup>166</sup> Ibíd. 241.

<sup>167</sup> Ibíd. 515.

causa nuestra filialidad divina, sino que es signo de que ya somos hijos de Dios, es decir, nos abre los ojos a lo que ya somos;<sup>168</sup> y cuando confesaba que las promesas evangélicas ya son una realidad que podemos hacer nuestras. Un ejemplo de esto último aparece en *The Kingdom of Christ*, donde Maurice afirma que la proclamación de la buena noticia al pueblo inglés ha de ser en clave positiva, no negativa, recondándole que:

*God has cared for you, you are indeed his children; his Son has redeemed you, his Spirit is striving with you; there is a fellowship larger, more irrespective of outward distinctions, more democratical, than any which you can create; but it is a fellowship of mutual love, not mutual selfishness, in which the chief of all is the servant of all.*<sup>169</sup>

Esa hermandad, es decir, la Iglesia-reino-de-Cristo, ya existe. La invitación, por tanto, no es a crearla o inventarla de nuevo, sino a recibirla con los brazos abiertos. Sin embargo, Maurice no cae en un triunfalismo eclesiológico, más bien lo contrario. Cuando profundizamos en su obra vemos que lo que en algunas partes afirma como una realidad (es decir, ‘el reino ya está aquí’), en otras describe como una visión de futuro, o un deseo personal que aún ha de cumplirse.<sup>170</sup> Además, en algún momento indirectamente afirma que el reino en su plenitud aún está por venir, cuando insta a la Iglesia a no perder de vista la promesa de la parusía, ‘*the truth of the second appearing of our Lord*’,<sup>171</sup> la doctrina según la cual ‘*the Church is to live in the expectation of the appearance and the triumph of her Head.*’<sup>172</sup> Referencias como esta última, no obstante, son escasas. Maurice apenas trata este aspecto doctrinal, y se inclina más por enfatizar la presencia, ya existente, del reino.

#### **4.3.1. Iglesia y salvación**

Su visión inclusiva de la Iglesia-reino parte de un doble principio antropológico y

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<sup>168</sup> Cf. William Wolf, ‘Maurice and our understanding of “ecumenical”’, *ATR* 54 (1972), 278.

<sup>169</sup> TKOC, 559.

<sup>170</sup> Por ejemplo, en su descripción de la Iglesia de Inglaterra. Cf. *Ibíd.* 565.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibíd.* 511.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibíd.* 512.

soteriológico. A nivel antropológico, para Maurice, la humanidad tiene una determinada ‘constitución moral y espiritual’. Esta constitución espiritual de las personas es compartida por todo ser humano, y Maurice alude a la historia religiosa, filosófica y mitológica de los pueblos antiguos y modernos, para afirmar su creencia en que el ser humano es esencialmente un ser espiritual y moral. Para él, desde la antigüedad, las civilizaciones han discernido que aunque en lo accidental su espiritualidad tuviese diversas manifestaciones, en lo esencial existían rasgos comunes, compartidos por todos.<sup>173</sup>

En cuanto a la conexión entre Iglesia y salvación, la soteriología de Maurice evita infantilismos o teorías mercantilistas. Según el teólogo inglés, se debe evitar: ‘*The wretched notion of a private selfish Heaven, where compensation shall be made for troubles incurred, and prizes given for duties performed in this lower sphere.*’<sup>174</sup> Ésta, para Maurice, es una noción anti-natural, disfrazada de lenguaje bíblico y procedente de otros tiempos.<sup>175</sup>

Como observó Ramsey, Maurice ‘*viewed the Church not only as the home of the redeemed, but as a sign that God had redeemed the whole human race and that the whole human race was potentially in Christ.*’<sup>176</sup> Esto lo deja claro en sus *Theological Essays*, cuando explora la doctrina de que fuera de la Iglesia no hay salvación. Merece la pena aquí reproducir íntegramente sus reflexiones sobre esta cuestión:

*The doctrine, Nulla salus extra Ecclesiam, sounds the cruellest of all doctrines; it has become so in fact. But consider the origin of it. A man possessed with the conviction that human beings are not meant to live in a world where everyone is divided from his neighbor, -in which there is no uniting, fusing principle, in which each lives to himself, and for himself,- bids them fly from that chaos. For he cries, “There is a universe for you! Nay, more, there is a Father’s house open to you.*

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<sup>173</sup> Maurice escribe: ‘*the worshippers evidently felt that which we call accidental to be essential; that the merging the gods in the objects with which they were connected was merely an artifice of later philosophy; that the circumstances of soil and climate did indeed occasion some important differences between the objects revered in various nations, but that the circumstance of their being parents, brothers, and sisters, so far as we know, was common to all.*’ *Ibíd.* 214-215.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibíd.* 512.

<sup>175</sup> Según Maurice: ‘*this unnatural notion, clothing itself in the language of Scripture and of other days of the Church.*’ *Ibíd.*

<sup>176</sup> Ramsey, *F.D. Maurice*, 34.

*God is not the frowning, distant tyrant the world takes Him to be; not split up into a multitude of broken forms and images; not One to whom we are to offer a cold civil lip service, by way of conciliating Him or doing Him honour. He is the Head of a family; His Son has proved you to be members of it; His Spirit is given you that you may know Him as He is, not as your hard material hearts represent Him to you. Come into this Ark! Take up your place in this Family! Here is deliverance and health! Nulla salus extra Ecclesiam. No comfort, no health, no peace, while you count yourselves exiles from God, strangers to your brethren.*”<sup>177</sup>

Esta visión positiva de la Iglesia como hogar de los redimidos, donde hay lugar para todos, y donde Dios se da a las personas y se revela como verdaderamente es, contrasta con el mensaje protestante tradicional que partía del pecado original y utilizaba una psicología del temor para convencer a las personas de su necesidad de salvación. Para Maurice, la buena noticia del evangelio siempre comienza con Dios que invita a las personas a compartir la vida divina; la fe de la Iglesia, que aparece en los credos, también comienza con Dios; la esencia de la Iglesia, de igual modo, tiene su principio en Dios mismo, que llama a los seres humanos a formar parte de su familia universal. Y como observa Maurice, la declaración doctrinal de la Iglesia de Inglaterra, los *Treinta y nueve artículos*, al contrario que las confesiones de fe de la Reforma, comienza su testimonio confesando su fe en Dios, no partiendo del pecado humano.

#### **4.3.2. Los signos de la Iglesia universal**

Según Maurice, como ya hemos visto, la Iglesia universal no es un ente invisible, abstracto o de consumación futura. Su eclesiología emana de una visión amplia e inclusiva de la humanidad que va más allá de la unidad familiar o nacional.<sup>178</sup> El carácter distintivo de la Iglesia universal, o sociedad universal, es visible gracias a seis signos: el bautismo, los credos, las formas de culto, la eucaristía, el ministerio ordenado y la Biblia.

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<sup>177</sup> Theological Essays, 306.

<sup>178</sup> Maurice escribió: ‘*But, a time came, when thoughts were awakened in men's minds of something more comprehensive than either this family or this national constitution. The former belonged to all men; yet, in another respect it was narrow, separating men from each other. The latter was obviously exclusive; a nation was limited to a small locality; it actually treated all that lay beyond it, and whom it could not subdue to itself, as aliens, if not enemies.*’ TKOC, 218.

El *bautismo* es el primero y fundamental. La alianza bautismal es la base de pertenencia a esta sociedad espiritual. Para Maurice, el bautismo es: ‘*the sign of admission into a Spiritual and Universal Kingdom, grounded upon our Lord's incarnation, and ultimately resting upon the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*’<sup>179</sup>

Los *credos* de los primeros siglos del cristianismo indiviso, es decir, el de los apóstoles y el niceno-constantinopolitano, son el segundo signo. Estos símbolos son una constante permanente de la fe apostólica de la Iglesia desde el siglo I,<sup>180</sup> están íntimamente ligados al bautismo, son testimonio aclaratorio de las Sagradas Escrituras, y tienen una función pedagógica.<sup>181</sup>

El tercer signo, las *formas de culto* o adoración, son una respuesta natural del ser humano como hijos de Dios. Estas formas de culto divino tienen una función unificadora. Maurice lo explica a partir de los dos acontecimientos en la narrativa bíblica que actúan como arquetipos de la dispersión humana lingüística y de la reunificación: es decir, las historias de Babel (en el Antiguo Testamento) y de Pentecostés (en el Nuevo Testamento).<sup>182</sup> Para él, la liturgia, como signo de la Iglesia universal, encarnaba un aspecto central de la Iglesia de Inglaterra: el principio del *lex orandi – lex credendi*. La oración común, en su manifestación litúrgica, era la expresión de la fe común y de la comunión entre los cristianos. Estas formas de culto, a su vez, contaban con un doble carácter: histórico, al haber sido ‘*preserved through so many generations*’; y nacional, al estar ‘*adapted to every locality*’.<sup>183</sup>

El cuarto signo es la *eucaristía*. Este es, para Maurice, ‘el símbolo más sagrado’ de todos. Uno que ha superado las barreras nacionales, las de raza, política y costumbres. La santa cena ha sido punto de unión, capaz de trascender las diferencias de clase, educación o estatus social. Para Maurice, la celebración eucarística, en los periodos de

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<sup>179</sup> Ibíd. 269.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 272.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 273-274.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 287.

<sup>183</sup> Ibíd. En cuanto al carácter histórico, respondiendo a las objeciones protestantes que defendían el uso de las oraciones *ex tempore* en el culto divino, Maurice afirma: ‘*I do believe, however, that the prayers written in the first ages of Christianity are in general, more free, more reverent, more universal, than those which have been poured forth since.*’ Ibíd. 295.

mayores conflictos sociales de la historia, resultó ser el mayor de los dones tanto para pobres como para poderosos.<sup>184</sup>

El quinto signo es el *ministerio ordenado*, y en concreto, el episcopado histórico. Este modelo de gobierno eclesial tiene un carácter de permanencia y continuidad con la Iglesia histórica, y de universalidad, es decir, es un modelo extendido por toda la geografía del planeta, en iglesias orientales ortodoxas, en la Iglesia católico-romana, y en iglesias de naciones teutónicas protestantes como Inglaterra, Dinamarca y Suecia.<sup>185</sup>

El sexto signo es la *Biblia*. La función de la Biblia, como texto sagrado, y su verdadero valor espiritual, yace en ser un referente escrito del reino de Cristo. Esta es la clave, estas son las lentes hermenéuticas, a través de las cuales Maurice interpreta el mensaje de las Escrituras.<sup>186</sup> Sin embargo, la Biblia no solo interpreta el significado del reino de Cristo, sino que es, en sí misma, una señal, un signo, de dicho reino.<sup>187</sup> La relación entre Biblia e Iglesia es fundamentalmente interpretativa. Maurice, en este sentido, afirmó: *'I have supposed the Bible and the Church to be mutual interpreters of each other. The Church exists as a fact, the Bible shows what that fact means. The Bible is a fact, the Church shows what that fact means.'*<sup>188</sup> Para Maurice, la Biblia, sin la Iglesia, no puede interpretarse; y la Iglesia sin la Biblia, es más débil.

Estos seis signos que según Maurice se encontraban ya en la Iglesia de Inglaterra, se convirtieron en la base del denominado *Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral*. Esta declaración, ratificada por la Conferencia de Lambeth de 1888, definía los cuatro rasgos esenciales del anglicanismo: las sagradas Escrituras, los credos, los sacramentos del bautismo y la santa cena, y el episcopado histórico. Es decir, cinco de los seis signos que Maurice atribuyó a la Iglesia. La omisión del tercer signo mauriciano, el de la liturgia o

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<sup>184</sup> Según Maurice: *'It has been the most holy symbol to nations, between which race, political institutions, acquired habits, had established the most seemingly impassable barriers. In each of these nations, during that course of years, there have been endless conflicts between rich and poor, nobles and plebeians. Nevertheless this feast, during the time when these conflicts were the greatest, was acknowledged as the highest gift to the great, and yet as one in which the lowest were intended to share.'* *Ibíd.* 307.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibíd.* 345. Maurice escribió: *'It is implied in what I have said, that this institution has a character of permanence as well as of universality.'* *Ibíd.* 346.

<sup>186</sup> Maurice escribió: *'the plain letter of Scripture, and yet it is a letter which means nothing except in reference to the progress of Christ's kingdom.'* *Ibíd.* 380.

<sup>187</sup> Según Maurice: *'the Bible ... must not only interpret to us the signs of a spiritual and universal kingdom, but must be itself one of the most remarkable of those signs.'* *Ibíd.* 393.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibíd.* 416-17.

formas de culto, ha sido criticada por el teólogo norteamericano William Wolf.<sup>189</sup> A este documento volveremos en el capítulo siguiente.

#### **4.3.3. La Iglesia y el mundo: catolicidad y nacionalidad**

A lo largo de *El Reino de Cristo*, Maurice describe la esencia y el papel de la Iglesia en relación a otras realidades sociales. Primero, distingue entre dos formas diferentes de ‘sociedad universal’: la Iglesia y el mundo. Más adelante trata la relación entre la Iglesia universal y la Iglesia nacional. Y dentro de esta última, explora las relaciones Iglesia-Estado en el contexto inglés.

El *mundo* es lo radicalmente opuesto a la Iglesia. El mundo simboliza, para Maurice, las tendencias separatistas y exclusivistas que afirman las diferencias entre las personas y niegan la humanidad compartida, la unidad y en definitiva niegan a Dios mismo. Representa las inclinaciones humanas que potencian el individualismo, la división, la fractura y la violencia. La Iglesia, por contra, encarna y afirma el principio de unidad entre todas las personas, la armonía y la paz, en tanto que comparte y refleja la unidad del Dios trino. Maurice afirmó:

*We have observed that there are two possible forms of a universal society, one of which is destructive of the family and national principle, the other the expansion of them. The first of these is that which in Scripture is called THIS WORLD, the latter is that which in Scripture is called THE CHURCH.*<sup>190</sup>

Para Maurice: ‘*The World contains the elements of which the Church is composed.*’<sup>191</sup> La diferencia es que, en la Iglesia, ‘*these elements are penetrated by a uniting, reconciling power. The Church is, therefore, human society in its normal state; the World, that same society irregular and abnormal.*’<sup>192</sup> Según el teólogo victoriano: ‘*The world is the Church without God; the Church is the world restored to its relation with God, taken*

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<sup>189</sup> Wolf, ‘Maurice’, 274.

<sup>190</sup> TKOC, 240.

<sup>191</sup> Theological Essays, 305.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibíd.*

*back by Him into the state for which He created it.*<sup>193</sup> Cuando la Iglesia piensa y actúa de forma contraria, pierde su esencia, lo que la distingue del mundo, y se convierte en parte del mundo.<sup>194</sup>

A lo que más atención dedica en su obra, no obstante, es a la relación entre la Iglesia universal y las iglesias nacionales. Si la Iglesia universal es la sociedad espiritual internacional que comparte los seis signos eclesiales fundamentales, las iglesias nacionales son la manifestación local, cultural y contextual de dicha Iglesia. La Iglesia universal, también llamada por Maurice, Iglesia católica, ha de distinguirse de la Iglesia de Roma.<sup>195</sup> La Iglesia nacional goza de independencia en su gobierno y cuenta con *‘powers which belong to it in common with the different parts of the body, and which are to be exerted in the first place for the benefit of its own country.’*<sup>196</sup>

La relación entre catolicidad y nacionalidad son claves en su eclesiología. Según Maurice, hay dos principios que han luchado por ejercer su influencia sobre Europa occidental desde hace siglos: *‘the one, that which is embodied in Protestantism, resisting the claim of the spiritual power to any extra-national domination, and always tending to set at nought spiritual authority altogether;’*<sup>197</sup> y otro, el católico-romano, que según él ha resistido *‘[t]he attempts of the particular states to divide their own subjects from the rest of Christendom, continually striving to uphold the Church as a separate power, and to set at nought the existence of each particular nation.’*<sup>198</sup> El equilibrio entre estos dos principios, y la unidad de ambos, son esenciales para que la Iglesia universal sea auténticamente católica, y para que las iglesias nacionales sean verdaderamente reformadas. En este sentido, la Iglesia de Inglaterra encarna, para Maurice, esta unidad de catolicismo y protestantismo.

El anglicanismo, no es el amalgamamiento o sincretismo de sistemas protestantes y católico-romano, sino más bien representa una eclesiología verdaderamente universal y

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<sup>193</sup> *Ibíd.*

<sup>194</sup> Esto se hace visible en todas las iglesias nacionales (cf. TKOC, 490-91), y especialmente en la Iglesia de Roma (cf. TKOC, 527).

<sup>195</sup> El uso que Maurice hace del término ‘Iglesia de Roma’, se refiere específicamente a la diócesis de Roma en Italia, y a aquellas otras diócesis por todo el mundo que ‘reconocen la jurisdicción de su obispo’. TKOC, 515.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibíd.* 493.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibíd.* 494.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibíd.*



profundamente nacional.<sup>199</sup> En este sentido, Maurice niega además que el anglicanismo sea una especie de vía media entre Roma y Ginebra, como afirmaban los defensores del Movimiento de Oxford.<sup>200</sup> Su argumento es especialmente claro en su primera carta a Palmer:

*In what I have said, I have anticipated my answer to your charge against the English Church, that her character is ambiguous because she calls herself both Catholic and Protestant. I have shown, I think, that she is not obliged to be half Catholic and half Protestant, - not obliged to chalk out a middle way, in the sense which you give to that phrase; but that it is possible for her, or for any other portion of the Church, to be most Catholic when she is most Protestant.*<sup>201</sup>

Para Maurice los *Artículos* son un ejemplo magistral de síntesis católica y reformada. Se diferencian de otras confesiones protestantes europeas, calvinistas y luteranas, como ya se ha apuntado, en que el punto de partida es el Dios trino, y no el pecado original. Así pues, el primer bloque de artículos, refleja la doctrina universal de la Iglesia sobre Dios (son artículos católicos), mientras el segundo bloque refleja la soteriología reformada, luterana y calvinista (son artículos protestantes). Pero estos últimos, no por ser protestantes dejan de ser católicos. Para Maurice: *'The principles of the Reformation are*

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<sup>199</sup> Maurice escribió: *'If what I have said be true, our faith is not formed by a union of the Protestant systems with the Romish system, nor of certain elements taken from the one and of certain elements taken from the other. So far as it is represented in our liturgy and our articles, it is the faith of a Church, and has nothing to do with any system at all. That peculiar character which God has given us, enables us, if we do not slight the mercy, to understand the difference between a Church and a System better perhaps than any of our neighbours can, and, therefore, our position, rightly used, gives us a power of assisting them in realizing the blessings of their own.'* *Ibíd.* 565.

<sup>200</sup> Maurice escribió: *'There are those who think that our Reformers, by steering a middle course between the foreign Reformers and the Romanists, secured that ecclesiastical purification which the Teutonic nations demanded, and that ecclesiastical order which the Latin nations sighed for. If they had struck out such a middle course - if they had been permitted to strike out any course at all for themselves - I believe they would have dissatisfied Teutons and Latins equally; would have produced an ecclesiastical system in which the strength and vitality of both the elements that composed it would have been wanting. Just so far as our divines have dreamed of such a scheme, or have been enabled to construct one - on paper, I mean, for it can never exist as a reality - out of the materials which they found in our land, just so far, I believe, they have been the objects of just contempt to both their critics; just so far the poor people who want bread, and not stones, have looked up to them for nourishment in vain.'* *The Church A Family*, 185.

<sup>201</sup> *Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer*, 16.

*asserted in the one division, not as necessary qualifications, but as indispensable conditions, of the great Catholic truths which had been asserted in the other.*<sup>202</sup>

En el contexto inglés del siglo XIX, la cuestión de las relaciones Iglesia-Estado, era un asunto que levantaba pasiones. Diversos grupos apostaban por diferentes encajes entre ambos. Desde los que veían en el poder del Estado sobre la Iglesia un riesgo de sometimiento o de secularización (ej. no-conformistas, quákeros y católico-romanos entre otros), y que por tanto pedían la separación total; hasta quienes veían que esta relación era necesaria, aunque no estaban totalmente de acuerdo en cómo había de ser. Para unos debía de estar ligada a la monarquía y la supremacía real, para otros, la Iglesia debía de tener autonomía ante el Estado.

Maurice defiende la Iglesia estatal y expresa que las funciones de Iglesia y Estado estaban claramente definidas. Una, la Iglesia nacional, *‘exists for the purpose of cultivating the inner man,’*<sup>203</sup> es decir, la parte espiritual de las personas, que para Maurice incluye la parte intelectual y, por tanto, la educación. El otro, el Estado, es responsable del ‘hombre exterior’, es decir de las necesidades materiales de las personas.<sup>204</sup> Maurice propone: *‘A national Church, strong in the conviction of its own distinct powers, paying respectful homage to those of the state, educating all classes to be citizens by making them men.’*<sup>205</sup>

Al contrario que los propulsores del Movimiento de Oxford, Maurice afirma el valor real de la Reforma del siglo XVI.<sup>206</sup> La Iglesia de Inglaterra es, en esencia, católica y reformada, universal y nacional. El principio de reforma, sin embargo, no es solo algo del pasado. Maurice es un defensor del principio de *semper reformanda* en la vida de la Iglesia nacional. Y la reforma eclesial nacional ha de comenzar, según él, en el trabajo de reforma personal de sus dirigentes.<sup>207</sup> Por otra parte, la responsabilidad de contribuir a la reforma espiritual de la nación y de la Iglesia, según Maurice, no es únicamente de la Iglesia de Inglaterra, sino también de los demás, incluidos los católico-romanos y

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<sup>202</sup> TKOC, 530.

<sup>203</sup> Ibíd. 502.

<sup>204</sup> Ibíd.

<sup>205</sup> Ibíd. 507.

<sup>206</sup> Ibíd. 540. Su interpretación de la Reforma inglesa, sin embargo, es de carácter más teológico que histórico. Cf. Brose, *Rebellious Conformist*, 85.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 519.

protestantes. De hecho, lo importante no es de dónde venga dicha renovación o reforma, sino de quién, es decir, que proceda de Dios.<sup>208</sup>

#### 4.3.4. La eclesiología anglicana de Maurice

Uno de los aspectos más fascinantes de la teología mauriciano es su tratamiento de la eclesiología anglicana. Como ya se ha visto, su visión de la Iglesia nacional comienza por la Iglesia universal. El punto de partida de su eclesiología no es el anglicanismo sino la catolicidad de la Iglesia. La identidad anglicana, según Maurice, emana del reino de Cristo. El anglicanismo es una expresión nacional de dicho reino, con una historia y un contexto propios. Frederick hace un repaso histórico-teológico de la Iglesia de Inglaterra en el que afirma sus dos constantes eclesiológicas: la unidad de la Iglesia, y su crítica a los ‘sistemas’ o corrientes teológicas que la dividían y fracturaban.<sup>209</sup>

Para Maurice los reformadores ingleses del siglo XVI, especialmente los que dieron su vida por la Reforma, tenían una visión de la Iglesia basada en el reino de Cristo, y no en un sistema de creencias. Y a la hora de la prueba, cuando su fe era sometida a las llamas: *‘They knew that it was a Person in whom they were believing; in the hour of trial and death they looked directly to Him, and not to any dogma or system of dogmas, for strength and consolation.’*<sup>210</sup>

Sin embargo, cuando escribe sobre el siglo XVIII, cambia de tono. El anglicanismo del XVIII fue para él político, aristocrático, elitista y moralista. Maurice lo tilda de ‘eclesiología de Estado’, y de ‘anglicanismo político deprimente’, interesado más

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<sup>208</sup> Maurice escribe: *‘I do not indeed say that this witness must come from us alone, perhaps not from us chiefly. Let it come from where it will, God must be the author of it. He may see fit to bring this truth with mighty power to the heart of some Italian monk, who has been seeking in vain to make himself holy, and discovers that holiness, must come from a Spirit of Holiness who is also a Spirit of Unity. It may come to some Romish Bishop as he listens to the Veni Creator Spiritus, and believes that the sevenfold gifts are intended for him. It may come to some earnest member of a Protestant sect, feeling that Spirit of Truth cannot be the Spirit of narrowness. It come to some man lying outside of all churches and sects, asking whether he can be intended to be only a part of an unsympathising, forlorn world. To whichever it comes first, the faith will pass rapidly, as by an electrical chain from one another. It will break through all barriers of opinion and circumstance. None will know how he has received it, because all will have received it from that Spirit who bloweth He listeth, and of whom you cannot say whence He or whither He goeth.’* Theological Essays, 307-308.

<sup>209</sup> Para Maurice estos sistemas, estén basados en personalidades o en ideologías, están fundamentalmente conectados con el Mundo, y cuentan con precedentes tanto en la Iglesia primitiva, haciendo referencia a los Corintios, como en el judaísmo del siglo I, refiriéndose a las principales sectas judías de la época de Jesús. Cf. The Church A Family, 138-143.

<sup>210</sup> TKOC, 540.

‘en el espíritu de la época’, es decir en un matrimonio con el Estado que le garantizara seguridad y privilegios, y olvidando su esencia, su llamado y su misión. Esta es la razón, según Maurice, que lleva a muchos anglicanos del siglo XIX a buscar alternativas, y que conducen a la consolidación de los tres grandes sistemas eclesiológicos anglicanos.<sup>211</sup> Estos sistemas, también llamados ‘partidos eclesiales’, eran: el liberal, que buscaba el cambio y abrazaba el criticismo bíblico; el evangélico, que pedía la vuelta a los *Artículos* y a la predicación del evangelio; y el anglo-católico, o *High Church* (alta iglesia), que arremetía contra liberales y evangélicos, y pedía que la Iglesia reafirmase los sacramentos, el orden episcopal y ‘el poder de atar y desatar’,<sup>212</sup> es decir, el sacramento de la reconciliación. Maurice dibuja una imagen desesperada y desesperanzadora del anglicanismo decimonónico:

*These are the main outlines of the three systems which offer themselves to the deliberation of the young English theologian in the present day. He is told by the supporters of each that he must embrace one or other of them. All his attempts to incorporate them into each other have been very vain. It seems prodigious arrogance to invent a scheme of his own. He feels that he cannot fall back upon the old State Churchmanship.*<sup>213</sup>

El teólogo victoriano recurre a su método de análisis y síntesis esencialista para buscar los principios o esencia de cada uno de estos sistemas. Primero, describiendo lo positivo de cada uno, segundo, haciendo una crítica de sus debilidades, y por último, destilando la esencia de cada sistema.<sup>214</sup> Las aspiraciones de los liberales de apertura e inclusión, de defensa del *semper reformanda*, para Maurice, son laudables. Sin embargo, el método

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<sup>211</sup> Maurice escribió: ‘Now the spirit of this State Churchmanship was evidently the spirit of an age of our national Church, not of the Church itself. That continued to express itself in the Liturgy, and when it required a dogmatical language, in the Articles. The younger and more active members of the Church soon became conscious of the contradiction. They began to seek for some System which should be a refuge from the dreariness of political Anglicanism.’ *Ibíd.* 543

<sup>212</sup> En inglés: ‘a power of binding and loosing’. *Ibíd.* 545. Este sacramento, conectado con la confesión auricular, cesó en la Iglesia de Inglaterra tras la Reforma isabelina, y fue reintroducido en el siglo XIX con la renovación católica de los tractarianos. En la actualidad solo las iglesias anglo-católicas más tradicionalistas practican este rito.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibíd.* 546.

<sup>214</sup> Una de las imágenes que utiliza para ilustrar este último paso proviene del mundo de la música. En *El Reino de Cristo* escribe: ‘we may find that there is a divine harmony, of which the living principle in each of these systems forms one note, of which the systems themselves are a disturbance and a violation.’ *Ibíd.*

propuesto por ellos para alcanzar dichos fines es, cuanto menos, peligroso. La razón de esto es que atenta contra lo que para Maurice es el centro sagrado del anglicanismo: la liturgia y los *Artículos*. Maurice afirma el sumo valor de ambos en el mantenimiento de una eclesiología del reino.<sup>215</sup>

Las aspiraciones de los evangélicos, de afirmar la importancia de la fe personal sobre meros rituales vacíos, y lo fundamental de una relación íntima y personal entre el individuo y Dios, son admirables. Sin embargo, nuevamente, el método empleado es resultado de una mala teología, pues niega principios fundamentales cristianos. Entre ellos, la paternidad universal de Dios en el bautismo, y el vínculo real de comunión que se da en la eucaristía entre Cristo y la iglesia congregada.<sup>216</sup>

Por último, la visión católica es positiva, en cuanto que afirma que la Iglesia, extendida por toda la tierra, tiene su origen en Dios. Dios no la ha hecho depender ni de la fe, ni de los sentimientos, ni de los pensamientos de las personas (en contraste con evangélicos y liberales), sino que la ha dotado de ‘signos permanentes de su existencia’.<sup>217</sup> Esta Iglesia tiene en su centro la ‘comunión de los santos’. No obstante, el anglo-catolicismo, corre el mismo riesgo de exclusión bautismal que los evangélicos. Pues, para recuperar la supuesta gracia perdida, estos ponen como condición constante el arrepentimiento y la penitencia. Maurice lo afirma con estas palabras:

*The congregations of the one [catholics] are to be treated practically as if they had lost their baptismal rights, just as the congregations of the others [evangelicals] are to be treated as if they had never obtained them; that repentance and moral discipline are to be held forth as the possible means of recovering a treasure, not as the fruit of shame for the past and precaution against the future abuse of it.*<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Maurice se pregunta: ‘What if those Articles have kept us from sinking into a particular theological system, and have compelled us to feel that there were two sides of truth, neither of which could be asserted to the exclusion of the other? What if the abandonment either of the Prayers or the Articles, or the reduction of them to our own present standards of thought, should bring the Church into the most flat and hopeless monotony, should so level her to the superstitions of the nineteenth century, so divorce her from the past and the future, that all expansion would for ever be impossible?’ Ibid. 547.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid. 548.

<sup>217</sup> En inglés: ‘permanent signs of its existence’. Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. 549.

Maurice está de acuerdo con los tres grupos en la esencia de lo que reclaman:

*I think the Liberal has a right to say, "Recognise the idea of Rationalism in the Church, and it will not assert itself out of the Church in the form of Infidelity." That the Evangelical has a right to say, "Recognise the idea of personal faith as the condition of Christian fellowship in the Church, and it will not assert it self in the form of Dissent out of the Church." I think the Catholic has a right to say, "Recognise the idea of Catholicism in your Church, and it will not assert itself out of the Church in the form of Romanism."*<sup>219</sup>

Su crítica no va dirigida a estas afirmaciones positivas, sino a los sistemas excluyentes y exclusivos que nacen de un énfasis único y desproporcionado de estas ideas. Los sistemas no garantizan el éxito de los principios que sostienen, sino más bien su limitación y contradicción. Maurice admite:

*I cannot see what Church Liberalism reduced to a System is, but the denial of any thing as given to men either in the shape of Tradition or Revelation; what Church Evangelicalism reduced to a System is, but the denial of the very idea of Church fellowship or Unity, and the substitution for it of a combination of individual units; what Catholicism reduced to a System is, but Romanism; that is to say, the direct denial of the distinction of National Churches, and the implicit denial of the Church as a spiritual body holding a spiritual Head.*<sup>220</sup>

Maurice, como se ha apuntado, no propone una vía media entre unos y otros, ni el amalgamamiento de todos los sistemas en uno solo, sino una vía unitiva capaz de afirmar la unión de lo esencial de estos tres sistemas. Es decir, una vía unificadora de los principios, no de las formas, que afirme la necesidad del continuismo y la reforma, de la dimensión individual y la dimensión comunitaria, de lo universal y lo nacional. Esta es su visión del anglicanismo, y su visión de lo que significa ser Iglesia.

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<sup>219</sup> Ibíd. 551.

<sup>220</sup> Ibíd. 551-552.

#### 4.4. El episcopado en la teología de Maurice

Como se ha apuntado en el apartado anterior, el episcopado era para Maurice uno de los seis signos de la Iglesia universal. El orden episcopal era muestra tanto de continuidad histórica como de catolicidad. La forma en que esta institución se había preservado era mediante la consagración de obispos.<sup>221</sup> Esta forma de gobierno, según Maurice, tiene su origen en Cristo y en la primera comunidad de discípulos del círculo más cercano al maestro, denominados ‘apóstoles’. Para Maurice, los evangelios evidencian que Jesús de Nazaret al elegir y formar a sus apóstoles, los forma para un oficio o función (*office*).<sup>222</sup> Es por tanto, un ministerio funcional, con una misión que no es otra que la misión de Jesús en la tierra, la *missio Dei*. El ministerio episcopal, en contraste con la visión reformada del siglo XVI, para Maurice y un importante sector anglicano decimonónico, anglo-católicos y tractarianos, no es de la *bene esse*, sino de la *esse* de la Iglesia.<sup>223</sup>

En cuanto al ministerio de los primeros apóstoles, para Maurice éste estaba directamente ligado al haber sido testigos directos de la resurrección de Cristo. Pero no solo de la resurrección, sino que, especialmente, testigos del misterio de la encarnación. En palabras del teólogo inglés, deberían de ser ‘*persons who had seen and handled the word of life*.’<sup>224</sup>

Los obispos, como sucesores de los apóstoles, son instrumentos de la misión divina. Según Maurice: ‘*in nearly every case in which the Church has enlarged her borders, in which the commission, “Go ye into all nations”, has been really acted out, Bishops have been the instruments of fulfilling the command and obtaining the promise*.’<sup>225</sup> Y en una de las pocas ocasiones en que Maurice trata el asunto de las misiones coloniales inglesas, fermento de la Comunión Anglicana, el teólogo reclama la justicia social para todos sus habitantes, sean colonizadores o nativos; pide que se

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<sup>221</sup> Según Maurice: ‘*It has been preserved by an act of consecration performed through the agency of three existing Bishops; signifying, according to the faith of all the nations and ages which have retained it, that the person newly entering upon the functions receives the same kind of authority and the same kind of gifts as those who were first endowed with it.*’ *Ibíd.* 346-347

<sup>222</sup> Maurice escribe: ‘*He is training them to an office. He is not teaching them to be great saints, to keep up a high tone of personal holiness as if that were the end of their lives... He is teaching them that they have a work to do even as He has.*’ *Ibíd.* 349-350.

<sup>223</sup> Maurice afirma: ‘*those nations which have preserved the episcopal institution have a right to believe that they have preserved one of the appointed and indispensable signs of a spiritual and universal society.*’ *Ibíd.* 351.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibíd.* 371.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibíd.* 372.

reconozca la dignidad humana de todas las personas, pues están hechas a imagen de Dios; y apela a la responsabilidad de la Iglesia de evangelizarlos, respetando sus tradiciones y partiendo de su sentido propio de espiritualidad.<sup>226</sup>

Su análisis histórico sobre el principio de autoridad en la iglesia occidental llega a dos conclusiones. Una, que eventualmente, en la Edad Media, el papado acabó erigiéndose como un patriarcado ecuménico en occidente, pero que confundió los signos de la Iglesia con los ministros que la hacían posible y quiso legislar sobre la Iglesia universal, ignorando su diversidad nacional.<sup>227</sup> Y en segundo lugar, que la Reforma protestante intentó corregir este último aspecto eclesiológico exaltando la ley de Dios sobre la ley eclesial. Sin embargo, se equivocó cuando las interpretaciones particulares de cada reformador ocuparon en la práctica el lugar de la ley divina y eclesial.<sup>228</sup>

Maurice afirma que la esencia, el desarrollo y la función del episcopado tienen una clara dimensión de paternidad humana y espiritual, que refleja la paternidad divina. De hecho, así explica también cómo el obispo de Roma se hizo con el título de padre (*papa*) universal sobre los demás padres (*obispos*) locales de otras naciones. Según Maurice, lo que mantuvo el poder del papado durante la Edad Media, a pesar de los muchos conflictos de poder con monarcas de otros territorios cristianos, fue la dimensión de paternidad, y no la jurisdiccional.<sup>229</sup>

Sin embargo, este aspecto de paternidad desapareció con el tiempo y fue suplantado por un clericalismo monárquico. Para Maurice, el cisma con Roma fue una nueva oportunidad para los obispos anglicanos de reclamar la paternidad divina y modelar lo que significaba ser verdadera y plenamente católicos.<sup>230</sup> El problema vino cuando los obispos anglicanos, en generaciones sucesivas, se olvidaron de su verdadera

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<sup>226</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 564.

<sup>227</sup> Las críticas a la Iglesia de Roma se hacen más duras cuando se trata de las pretensiones del papado: *'I could not then show how great the sin was she had committed in assuming that St. Peter or any successor of his, could be the Father of the Church, how necessarily such a fiction divides earth from heaven, and makes the Church into a world.'* Theological Essays, 302.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. TKOC, 492.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. The Church A Family, 180-84.

<sup>230</sup> Según Maurice: *'Hence it came to pass that the order of society, civil and ecclesiastical, remained as it was - with this grand difference, that the nominal father of Christendom was not acknowledged as the head of this order. [...] The loss of that nominal Fatherhood might lead to the confession of the real Fatherhood; the bishops, divested of their subjection to a chief bishop, might feel what the name of Fathers in God implied; they might assert a spiritual government in the highest sense of the word; they might teach the sovereigns of the land that their Catholicity was far more real and practical than it had ever been.'* Ibíd. 185-86



vocación de padres. El pueblo, afirma Maurice, no quería un sistema eclesiástico, sino ser parte de una familia divina. Por el contrario, los obispos, en su afán de convertirse en ‘prelados’, olvidaron su vocación de ser ‘padres’.<sup>231</sup>

La función episcopal, para Maurice, no es otra que la de ser: ‘*the shepherd of a flock, the Father of a family which God has committed to him, over which he is to watch, for which he is to give an account.*’<sup>232</sup> La paternidad del episcopado apunta a la paternidad de Dios mismo. Un Dios que es Padre de toda persona, y que invita a sus hijos a formar parte, según Maurice, de:

*[A]n universal brotherhood, which has no limits of language or of race, that they do not testify of the exclusion or the excision of any portion of the Church, but rather that all are one in Christ Jesus, that all who are baptized in the one uniting Name, constitute a portion of God's great family, and are intended to bring the whole earth within the circle of that family.*<sup>233</sup>

Para Maurice, el ministerio episcopal, si desea ser eficaz y coherente con su llamado, debía de tener dos rasgos: primero, no ser clericalista, y segundo, ejercer la autoridad de manera colegial. Maurice no solo critica el clericalismo de su época, sino que apunta a Cristo como el modelo de liderazgo cristiano por excelencia. Comentando la primera epístola a los Corintios, Maurice afirma que:

*St Paul's words are not only the strongest testimony against these pretensions, but are the only cure for them. Do you really believe that if we thought ourselves ministers of Christ we could assume a stateliness, and formality, and contempt for common things, which our Master never assumed? Do you think that if He was called a friend of publicans and sinners, we could dare to stand aloof, and allege that it was a duty to draw lines about ourselves, and shut ourselves within a charmed circle, lest we should be defiled? Do you think that if we acknowledged Him truly to be the Son of Man as well as the Son of God, we could think that we were asserting our place as servants of God, as ministers of His children, by*

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<sup>231</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 187.

<sup>232</sup> Ibíd. 189-90.

<sup>233</sup> Ibíd. 190.

*disclaiming one human sympathy, or pretending to freedom from one human weakness?*<sup>234</sup>

En cuanto al ejercicio colegial del episcopado, Maurice considera que el fin de toda Iglesia nacional debiera ser organizar su gobierno siguiendo un modelo sinodal. No como fin en sí mismo, con un énfasis en legislar, error que ya habían cometido romanos y protestantes en muchas ocasiones, sino como instrumentos para animar y capacitar al pueblo de Dios en la adoración de Dios. Y, con la vocación ecuménica que le distingue, Maurice sueña también con el futuro en que estos sínodos sean instrumentos de unidad y fraternidad entre iglesias nacionales.<sup>235</sup>

#### **4.5. La eucaristía en la eclesiología de Maurice**

Maurice estaba convencido del carácter sacramental de la vida y de la creación divina. Según él: *'[n]o doubt the world is full of sacraments. Morning and evening, the kind looks and parting words of friends, the laugh of childhood, daily bread, sickness and death; all have a holy sacramental meaning, and should as such be viewed by us.'*<sup>236</sup> Sin embargo, cuando se trata de los signos sacramentales de la Iglesia, el teólogo victoriano menciona solo dos: el bautismo y la eucaristía. El primero, como se ha visto, afirmaba la admisión a la Iglesia, es decir, era el sacramento de iniciación. El segundo, al que dedico este apartado, tenía una función comunitaria y unitiva, era la fuente última de comunión entre las personas, y entre las personas y Dios.

Maurice reconoce que aunque la eucaristía habla, sobre todo, de unión, y ha de recibirse como el vínculo de una vida universal en la que las personas están llamadas a

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<sup>234</sup> Ibíd. 148.

<sup>235</sup> Maurice escribe: *'I have no doubt but that each national Church will recover its synods and its convocations; for then she will know how to use them. Not with the lust of legislation, not in the hope of accomplishing her chief objects by decrees, but for the purpose of satisfying scruples, of leading men away from the restless study of what is external by not compelling them to arrange and deliberate about it for themselves, of determining those ceremonies which to people of a particular climate, character, and constitution, best express the great ideas of the Church, of more effectually establishing and directing discipline and education, of promoting fellowship with national Churches which are willing to acknowledge themselves as parts of a great Catholic body.'* TKOC, 493.

<sup>236</sup> Ibíd. 328.

participar,<sup>237</sup> sin embargo, ha sido el sacramento más divisivo en la historia de la Iglesia, especialmente desde el siglo XVI. Divisivo porque no todos los reformadores le dieron la misma importancia, porque cada uno tenía una visión diferente de lo que significaba, y porque se utilizó, desde el principio, como herramienta de exclusión y separación, por razones de disciplina eclesial.<sup>238</sup>

Para Maurice, el sentido profundo de la eucaristía ha de ser buscado en el origen de la institución de la santa cena, es decir el contexto de la Pascua judía, y en Cristo mismo.<sup>239</sup> En cuanto a la doctrina de la presencia eucarística Maurice afirma la presencia espiritual calvinista del Libro de Oración Común y, sobre todo, que muchas de las paradojas del evangelio encuentran su reconciliación en la eucaristía. Maurice se pregunta:

*Could they doubt that when they ate this bread and drank this wine, He meant that they should have the fullest participation of that sacrifice with which God had declared himself well pleased...? [...] Could they doubt that if their spirits were to be raised up to behold the infinite and absolute glory, here they were admitted into that blessedness...? [...] Could they doubt that here the partial views and one-sided words and opposing thoughts of men, found their meeting-point and complete reconciliation? that here lay the clear vital expression of those distinctions which in verbal theology become dry, hard, dogmatic oppositions? that here it is apprehended how faith alone justifies, and how faith without works is dead? how it is we that act and yet not we, but Christ in us? how he that is born of God cannot commit sin, and yet if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves?*<sup>240</sup>

Defiende Maurice, también, una concepción del memorial eucarístico basada en el principio de anamnesis.<sup>241</sup> Para Maurice, la doctrina recepcionista anglicana, de

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<sup>237</sup> Según Maurice la eucaristía debe ser: *'acknowledged and received as the bond of a universal life, and the means whereby men become partakers of it.'* Ibíd. 308.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Ibíd.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 309-310.

<sup>240</sup> Ibíd. 311-12.

<sup>241</sup> Según Maurice: *'That it is the memorial of a past transaction is of course assumed in every word I have said. If it were not it could have no pretence to the name of Eucharist; it would bear no analogy to the*

inspiración calvinista, afirma que participamos de la comunión con Cristo al recibir, por fe, el pan y el vino consagrados. Pero el que nos alimentemos de su cuerpo y sangre, de forma espiritual, y por fe, no significa que su presencia dependa de nuestra fe. Es decir, la fe no tiene ‘un poder creativo’ – de crear la presencia – sino ‘receptivo’, de percibirla y recibirla.<sup>242</sup>

En la eucaristía, el movimiento espiritual no es descendiente, es decir, Cristo no desciende sobre los elementos consagrados, sino ascendente, el comulgante se eleva a la presencia de Cristo, y comulga de su cuerpo glorificado y exaltado a la derecha del Padre.<sup>243</sup> Los elementos eucarísticos tienen, además, un carácter sacramental e instrumental. Maurice afirma:

*We need some pure untroubled element, which has no significancy, except as the organ through which the voice of God speaks to man, and through which he may answer: “Thy servant heareth.” Such we believe are this bread and wine when redeemed to his service: let us not deprive them of their ethereal whiteness and clearness by the colours of our fancy or the clouds of our intellect.*<sup>244</sup>

Esta última exhortación iba dirigida a quienes defendían interpretaciones filosóficas del misterio eucarístico, en concreto la transubstanciación romana o la consubstanciación luterana. En *The Kingdom of Christ*, Maurice se aventura a tratar, además, uno de los aspectos más polémicos y divisivos de la sacramentología occidental: la eucaristía como sacrificio. Para ello describe los dos extremos teológicos: el protestante, que negaba rotundamente que en la eucaristía Cristo fuese sacrificado, pues el sacrificio de la cruz *consummatum est*; y el católico-romano, que según entendía Maurice afirmaba que en la eucaristía se continuaba ofreciendo un sacrificio nuevo de Cristo, entendiéndose que el sacrificio de la cruz era incompleto.

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*Passover. But the Passover had not merely reference to the past. The Jew had been brought out of Pharaoh's government and brought under God's government. In commemorating the past emancipation of his nation he claimed for himself a privilege which belonged to it then.* Ibid. 321.

<sup>242</sup> Según Maurice, el error en que caían muchos protestantes era el pensar que en la eucaristía ‘*faith is not a receptive but a creative power*’. Ibid. 326.

<sup>243</sup> Cf. Ibid. 327.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid. 328.

Maurice, nuevamente, ofrece una especie de vía unitiva que pretende reconciliar ambas posturas. Una explicación según la cual, la celebración eucarística ‘*derives its peculiarity, derives its sacrificial character, from the fact that a complete sacrifice has been offered up for man.*’<sup>245</sup> Para Maurice, el reconocer que este sacramento es:

*The sacrificial feast of the new dispensation, realizes and harmonizes these two truths, satisfies the meaning which the Romanist feels that he cannot part with, and so enables him to cast aside as degrading, dangerous, and antichristian, that doctrine which has been one of the greatest barriers between him and his Protestant brethren.*<sup>246</sup>

Este es otro ejemplo práctico, no solo de la vocación ecuménica de Maurice, sino de su método de síntesis esencialista. Pues mediante él intenta unir dos aspectos esenciales de las sacramentologías reformada y romana: la afirmación de que el sacrificio de Cristo en la cruz fue único y completo, y que en la eucaristía se celebra el misterio del sacrificio pascual.

#### **4.6. La eclesiología ecuménica de Maurice**

Como ya he apuntado a lo largo de este capítulo, la vocación ecuménica de Maurice fue incuestionable. Su lucha por la unidad de la Iglesia nacional y de las diversas confesiones cristianas, incluido otras iglesias nacionales, fue el gran motor que impulsó su actividad teológica. A diferencia de otros teólogos contemporáneos asociados al Movimiento de Oxford, que buscaban una unión institucional con Roma como base de la unidad, Maurice apostó por un modelo de unidad basado en el principio de comunión. Es decir, en el reconocimiento mutuo entre las iglesias, manifestado a través de la hospitalidad eucarística, pero sin sacrificar su identidad nacional.<sup>247</sup> Este uso del término ‘comunión’ como modelo de unión orgánica y espiritual se convertirá en la base tanto de la

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<sup>245</sup> Ibíd. 338.

<sup>246</sup> Ibíd. 339.

<sup>247</sup> Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 95.

Comunión Anglicana, como de la plena comunión en la que los anglicanos han entrado con otras iglesias protestantes europeas a finales del siglo XX.<sup>248</sup>

En la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, su pasión por la unidad, en la práctica, se manifestó en su compromiso con la creación del obispado ecuménico de Jerusalén. Su defensa de este proyecto, puso a prueba su propia eclesiología, y en concreto su concepción del episcopado, dado que la alianza propuesta era con luteranos alemanes no-episcopales. Maurice adoptó en todo este proceso una postura pragmática pero siempre coherente, que le permitió respetar la integridad eclesial de los luteranos, a la vez que de afirmar el episcopado histórico. En sus escritos a Palmer se pregunta:

*Shall I require the German, or the Helvetian, or the Dutchman to say, I have had no Church, not even the dream of one, I come to ask one from you? God forbid. If he can say such words, he does himself a deep moral injury [...] No, if we would bind him to the Church Catholic [...] let us allow him to lay fast hold of every portion of truth which he possesses, of every institution which belongs to him [...] Otherwise it is as much as saying, that we want him to be an Anglican, which he cannot be, and not a Catholic, which he can be.*<sup>249</sup>

La base para la comunión con los luteranos, no debía de ser el acuerdo doctrinal, ni la uniformidad litúrgica con ellos, aunque el principio del *lex orandi – lex credendi* era clave en su visión ecuménica,<sup>250</sup> sino el reconocimiento mutuo de la unión ya existente con la Cabeza de la Iglesia, Cristo.<sup>251</sup> Para Maurice, una vez establecido este principio de comunión, los luteranos podían estar en disposición de recibir el episcopado de manos de la Iglesia de Inglaterra.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Especialmente los acuerdos de plena comunión con vetero-católicos de Holanda, Suiza y Alemania, con luteranos escandinavos y bálticos, mediante el acuerdo de Porvoo de 1992, y con protestantes alemanes mediante el acuerdo de Meissen en 1988.

<sup>249</sup> Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer, 38.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Wolf, 'Maurice', 274.

<sup>251</sup> Maurice utiliza este mismo argumento cuando describe una hipotética unión con Roma, sobre la base de la unión con Cristo, como Cabeza espiritual, y no con el Papa. El resto, es decir, el mutuo reconocimiento del seguimiento fiel de la regla y la fe apostólicas, ha de ser consecuencia natural de lo primero. Así escribe: '*I think, certainly not; having once united in an invisible Head, and not in a visible, we may leave the rest to God. Having that great ground of fellowship, we are bound to follow the apostolic rule, and to entertain the apostolic faith!*' Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer, 27.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. *Ibíd.* 36-37.

Su justificación de los acuerdos o alianzas con los alemanes fue histórica, apelando a la historia compartida entre Inglaterra y Alemania desde la Reforma. Pero también estuvo conectada con la identidad católica y protestante de la Iglesia de Inglaterra. Para Maurice, dicha justificación tenía un carácter religioso y político, pues en ambos casos las iglesias nacionales eran además iglesias estatales, la ‘*established Church*’ en Inglaterra, y las ‘*Landeskirchen*’ en Alemania. Ante las críticas de los tractarianos que se oponían al proyecto ecuménico de Jerusalén, Maurice escribió:

*We are not striving to make ourselves a Protestant nation now: we have been so implicitly at all times; explicitly since the Reformation. We are not entering into alliances with Protestant powers now. It was the policy of our ablest princes - not since the Revolution, of 1688, as some would tell us, but very much more evidently before it - to enter into alliances almost exclusively with them.*<sup>253</sup>

El legado ecuménico más importante de F.D. Maurice, sin embargo, no fue el éxito del obispado anglicano-luterano de Jerusalén, sino la aplicación de su método de síntesis esencialista en el siglo XX. Morris describe el impacto de Maurice sobre generaciones futuras de ecumenistas con estas palabras:

*Maurice sketched out an ecumenical methodology – the examination of theological difference, in order to apprehend the authentic principles that lay at the heart of ecclesial conflict – that has proved to be remarkably attractive to subsequent generations. H.R.T. Brandreth called his contribution to ecumenical thought “outstanding”. William Wolf described *The Kingdom of Christ* as laying down “a theology of Christian ecumenism that has yet to come into its own”, yet pointed out that a “surprising number” of studies on the Church by Roman Catholic ecumenists followed a methodology similar to Maurice’s, citing in support a highly appreciative assessment of Maurice by Louis Bouyer.*<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Ibíd. 19.

<sup>254</sup> Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 204.

Otros teólogos católico-romanos, como J.A. Möhler, o de la Iglesia Ortodoxa, como A.S. Khomiakov, desarrollaron en el siglo XIX una eclesiología ecuménica, o con potencial ecuménico, que mantenía grandes similitudes con el método mauriciano.<sup>255</sup>

#### 4.7. Conclusiones

Como se ha mostrado, en el contexto del siglo XIX, Maurice buscó redefinir el anglicanismo apelando, no a la vía media de los tractarianos, sino a una vía unitiva, a una eclesiología que apuntaba más allá de las divisiones partidistas del momento, a la unidad esencial de la Iglesia nacional y al reino de Cristo. La vía unitiva mauriciano afirmaba que el anglicanismo no era un punto medio entre Roma y Ginebra, sino una Iglesia cuyo ADN era plenamente católico y auténticamente protestante. Una eclesiología propia, divorciada de una eclesiología universal, fundada en el reino de Cristo, era por tanto un sinsentido.

La identidad anglicana era, primeramente, la identidad de la Iglesia universal, cuya esencia no era otra que la del reino de Cristo. Y solo como extensión de ésta, era posible entender su identidad eclesial nacional. Como afirma Vidler: *‘No one will be able to understand Maurice nor, what is more important, the English Church and the Anglican Communion, who supposes that the Catholic Church and National Churches are incompatible.’*<sup>256</sup>

La identidad de la Iglesia de Inglaterra como Iglesia nacional estaba íntimamente ligada a su historia y contextos social y cultural. Con la vía unitiva de Maurice: *‘The diversity of mid-nineteenth-century Anglicanism was transcended, [...] by the fullness of the Church on which no one party had a purchase.’*<sup>257</sup> Según Maurice, dicha vía unitiva no era una creación original propia, sino que describía el anglicanismo histórico, al menos desde la Reforma, y era coherente con los dos pilares documentales de la Iglesia nacional: los *Artículos* y el *Libro de Oración Común*. La defensa de este anglicanismo unitivo era la respuesta personal de Maurice a los ataques de quienes buscaban dividir y desestabilizar la Iglesia estatal.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 206.

<sup>256</sup> Vidler, *The Theology of F.D. Maurice*, 215.

<sup>257</sup> Morris, *F.D. Maurice*, 29.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. Ibíd. 62.



Paradójicamente en estos dos frentes tenía la eclesiología de Maurice su talón de Aquiles. Pues, por una parte, su lectura teológica de la Reforma isabelina, no le permitía reconocer que el gran Pacto reformado del siglo XVI tuvo un carácter, no solo teológico, sino también político. Político, tanto a nivel estatal, al proclamar el Parlamento la Ley de Supremacía real; como a nivel eclesial, pues se buscó el consenso mediante el compromiso ideológico entre diversas facciones teológicas. Al ignorar esta realidad, favoreciendo una interpretación exclusivamente teológica de la Reforma inglesa, Maurice cayó en un romanticismo histórico que desembocó en una eclesiología utópica, más profética que real.<sup>259</sup>

Por otra parte, su visión de la Iglesia inglesa decimonónica también tenía una importante carga utópica. A pesar de comenzar con una descripción de la realidad fragmentada, Maurice dibujó una Iglesia que trascendía estas divisiones y sistemas. En esta visión, los distintos partidos teológicos desaparecerían, al reconocer que la esencia de cada uno de ellos necesitaba de la esencia del otro para ser parte de la Iglesia universal. El sueño de Maurice, dentro del anglicanismo inglés, no solo no se cumplió en las generaciones futuras, sino que en pleno siglo XXI estos partidos eclesiales se han fortalecido y atrincherado aún más. Lo mismo cabe decir de la Comunión Anglicana en su conjunto, donde las fracturas tienen una naturaleza más compleja. Su sueño de unidad, no obstante, sí que se ha materializado, al menos de forma parcial, en las relaciones ecuménicas entre anglicanos y otras confesiones cristianas.

En su crítica a los sistemas eclesiales de su época, y en su propuesta de una Iglesia anti-sistemas, capaz de encarnar la esencia de todos los sistemas, Maurice fue muy consciente de que su propia vía unitiva podía acabar convirtiéndose en una escuela teológica. Al final de *The Kingdom of Christ*, Maurice advierte a su lector de este riesgo con estas palabras: *‘I do pray earnestly, that if any such schools should arise, they may come to nought.’*<sup>260</sup> Por contra, lo que realmente espera es que su obra inspire a otros a luchar por una Iglesia universal y nacional, generosa e inclusiva, con la mirada puesta en Dios, en su reino y en las personas. Merece aquí reproducir las palabras finales de su obra, emotivas e intercaladas de plegarias:

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<sup>259</sup> Esta distinción entre eclesiología ‘profética’ – o teórica – y ‘práctica’ – o descriptiva de la realidad – es la base de un importante estudio teológico por parte de Healy. Véase: Healey, *Pratical-Prophetic Ecclesiology*.

<sup>260</sup> TKOC, 568.

*If there be any thing here which may help to raise men above their own narrow conceptions and mine, may lead them to believe that there is a way to that truth which is living and universal, and above us all, and that He who is Truth will guide them along in that way - this which is from Him and not from me, I pray that He will bless. "Let all thine enemies perish, O Lord"; all systems, schools, parties, which have hindered men from seeing the largeness, and freedom, and glory of thy kingdom; "but let them that love thee", in whatever earthly mists they may at present be involved, "be as the sun when he goeth forth in his strength."*

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Al final de su vida, en 1870, Maurice describió nuevamente su visión de la Iglesia anglicana, esta vez en una carta escrita al periódico *The Spectator*. En esta carta defendió la postura que mantuvo toda su vida, es decir, que el anglicanismo era una unión de catolicismo y protestantismo. Afirmó que los *Treinta y nueve artículos* eran prueba de ello, y que en ellos se demostraba:

*A union of Catholicism with Protestantism. I need not spend any time on that point: it is the ground of all charges against them that they are neither honestly Roman or [sic] honestly Genevan, but a mere compromise. I discover in them no hint of compromise; on the contrary, a strong spirit of assertion; a belief that Protestantism is necessary to Catholicism; the assumption that without individuality and nationality there can be no unity, no universality; that Catholicism trampling on individuality and nationality (i.e. becoming Romanism) ceases to be Catholic; a very distinct prophecy also that if Protestantism tries to stand on its own ground, if it begins from sin, instead of God, it will be no protection for individual or national existence, it will lose its meaning and become a curse.*<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Ibíd. 568-69.

<sup>262</sup> THE SPECTATOR, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. 2 April 1870. Page 14. En archivo digital: <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/2nd-april-1870/14/letters-to-the-editor> Consultado el 20 de octubre 2015.

Además, reclamó que la reforma que debía abordar la Iglesia nacional debía buscar una humanidad con más amplitud de miras y una teología más espiritual.<sup>263</sup> Siglo y medio más tarde, el anglicanismo global podría beneficiarse enormemente al responder a esta invitación del pasado. A buscar la unidad basada en la humanidad común y compartida, en su sentido más amplio. Y a trabajar por la unidad teológica en su sentido etimológico y espiritual –es decir, de unidad *en Dios* – y no en su sentido doctrinal o institucional, de uniformidad teológica o unidad estructural. En los contextos ecuménicos y de la Comunión Anglicana, que se explorarán en los siguientes capítulos, este llamado implica una reflexión nueva y profunda sobre el sentido de ‘comunión’ eclesial. También implica una reflexión eclesiológica que no tenga miedo de articular una nueva narrativa de la identidad anglicana contemporánea que construya sobre el pasado con una visión de futuro.

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<sup>263</sup> Maurice afirmó: *‘I think the last three centuries have developed the need for a humanity far more comprehensive, of a theology more spiritual, than the best men of the sixteenth century would have recognized.’* *Ibíd.*

**II. CONTEMPORARY IDENTITY:  
THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF ANGLICAN IDENTITY  
FROM THE 19<sup>TH</sup> TO THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**



## Chapter 5. Anglican identity development: from national church to world communion

### 5.1. Historical overview

Alongside the two major transitions described in the previous chapters, namely the 16<sup>th</sup> century English Reformation that led to the Elizabethan Settlement, and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Second Reformation of the Church of England, stands a third transition that transformed the *ecclesia anglicana* beyond recognition. This was the transformation from being an established State-Church, limited to the British Isles,<sup>264</sup> to becoming a worldwide fellowship of national autonomous churches. The result of this enormous transition was the formation of what today is known as the Anglican Communion.

The story of the Anglican Communion is deeply connected with the history of the expansion of the British Empire throughout the world from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Anglicans, however, worshipped outside of England as early as 1607, when the first permanent British colony was created in Virginia. Their religious practices and liturgical resources were the same as those of post-Elizabethan England. According to a contemporary diarist:

We had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the Holy Communion, till our minister died. But our prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three years after, till more Preachers came.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Up until 1784 there were only five Anglican provinces established in the British Isles: Armagh and Dublin in Ireland, Canterbury and York in England and Wales, and Scotland. Cf. William M. Jacob, *The making of the Anglican Church worldwide* (London: SPCK, 1997), 301; and William M. Jacob, 'The development of the Anglican Communion', in Platten, *Anglicanism*. 195.

<sup>265</sup> W.S. Ferry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church*. 1885. Vol. I. 45. Quoted by: Philip Thomas, 'The Lambeth Conferences and the development of Anglican ecclesiology, 1867-1978' Theses (PhD), Durham University, 1982. 32.

This anecdotal account of English Anglicans taking their religion with them to new lands supports the idea that at ‘a very basic level’ the Anglican Communion ‘just happened’.<sup>266</sup> In other words, it was not the result of an intentional, strategic, and centrally organized attempt to establish the Church of England overseas.<sup>267</sup> Rather, the story of the genesis of the Anglican Communion is one of British settlers, soldiers and traders taking their faith to new places. In later years, certainly from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, missionary religious zeal and piety served a particular economic crusade driven partly by the exigencies of the Industrial Revolution in England, and partly by political and territorial ambitions. Anglican missionaries worked in loose partnership with State endorsed companies that sought to expand British commerce around the world. This was the case of the Sierra Leon Company in West Africa, in the 1790s, the East India Company in the early 1800s, and the Imperial British East African Company in Uganda, in the 1880s. The church grew organically and naturally alongside the empire and its economic interests in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century it also followed the model of the Commonwealth for its organization.<sup>268</sup> This was a colonial church that initially mirrored the mother church of the metropolis, yet would soon encounter its own challenges abroad. Some of these challenges will be explored in this chapter.

However, at another level, the expansion of Anglicanism was not a mere historical accident. It had an intentional and missional dimension. Two ecclesial groups played a crucial role in the growth of the English church abroad, as they recognized the need to respond to the changing reality in new ways: the episcopate and missionary societies.

### ***5.1.1. The episcopate***

The English bishops, especially the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury, were entrusted with direct responsibility in overseeing the colonial churches. Their religious provision, initially through sending priests and endowing them with money to build churches, and later by appointing new bishops to serve the newly formed dioceses, tended to be reactive in nature. That is, they responded to each new context and demand

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<sup>266</sup> Jacob, *Making of Anglican Church*. 286.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. Thomas, ‘Lambeth conferences’, 28.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. William L. Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: from state Church to global communion* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 165.

as and when these were articulated, and very often it took them a long time to respond. This was the case of the appointment of bishops to the United States. Although originally planned in the 1630s, it took over one hundred and fifty years for the first American Episcopal bishop to be consecrated.<sup>269</sup>

The US Episcopal Church became the first autonomous province in the emerging Anglican Communion in 1784. In 1785 the US Anglicans organized themselves in a General Convention, a synodical body with two houses, one of laity and clergy, and one with bishops. This national structure reflected the legislative power of the newly independent nation.<sup>270</sup> It also became a model followed by other Anglican churches throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By 1835 the Episcopal Church had created many new dioceses. However, the Westward expansion of the country meant that new territories and a growing population had no Episcopal presence. Their strategy was to appoint missionary bishops who would establish new churches in newly created missionary dioceses. The rationale behind this new type of innovative ministry was articulated by Bishop Doane of New Jersey in a sermon during the General Convention of the American Episcopal Church. Doane believed that for the gospel to be preached in new lands, bishops had to be ‘sent forth by the Church, not sought for of the Church; going before to organise the Church, not waiting till the Church has been partially organised.’<sup>271</sup> The bishop was called to be ‘a leader, not a follower.’<sup>272</sup>

The first missionary dioceses to be established were Missouri and Indiana. But this confident body of Anglicans also felt a call to take the Christian faith to other parts of the world. Missionary bishops were also sent to China (1842) and Japan (1866).<sup>273</sup> The appointment of missionary bishops in the USA created a precedent in the Anglican Communion that would inspire the Church of England in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and African provinces throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century to follow their example.

Despite the crucial role of bishops in leading both the local church (diocese) and mission work (missionary dioceses), the model of church that emerged from the beginning was not episcopocentric. Bishops were leaders in mission and ministry,

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<sup>269</sup> Cf. Jacob, ‘Development of Anglican Communion’, in Platten, *Anglicanism*, 195.

<sup>270</sup> Cf. Sachs, *Transformation*, 67.

<sup>271</sup> W.C. Doane, *A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey*, (1860). Appendix, “The Missionary Bishop”, 8. Quoted by: Thomas, ‘Lambeth Conferences’, 62.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. Sachs, *Transformation*, 118.



however, the ecclesial government of dioceses and provinces was a synodical, horizontal, and democratic one involving laity, clergy *and* bishops.<sup>274</sup> In the USA, as pointed out above, the 'Episcopal Church created a national structure which mimicked that of America's new government.'<sup>275</sup> Six decades later, the New Zealand Anglican Church drew up its own constitution based on the American one, and in 1844 established its first synod, with an elected house of laity, clergy and bishops.<sup>276</sup> Australia implemented synodical government in 1850, followed by Canada in 1851 and South Africa in 1856. This became the pattern of Anglican government worldwide and it was endorsed by the first Lambeth Conference in 1867.

Synodical government, however, was a controversial step in many parts of the empire. On the one hand, they reflected a particular theology of the church that affirmed the independence of Church and State, and the capacity of the national church to run its own affairs. This, in England, had been advocated by the High Church party, in an attempt to reassert apostolic succession and episcopal leadership. On the other hand, and as a result of this, synodical government challenged the historic understanding of Church-State relations since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In doing so, it affirmed the political independence of the new national churches, not just from the mother Church of England, but from the metropolis, the Crown-in-Parliament and the colonial legislatures. Synods became an act of rebellion and protest against the excessive control of the British government over the colonial churches. Eventually, in 1861, new laws were passed in the English Parliament that abolished the need of 'royal letters patent' to appoint bishops abroad.

### ***5.1.2. The mission societies***

Missionary societies too played a crucial role in establishing new churches in the new territories, taking with them a particular Anglican style and theological tradition. On the whole, these societies chose to focus on different colonies for their evangelistic and educational work, both to avoid tensions due to overlap, and to work in a more coordinated manner. The most influential missionary groups were the anglo-catholic Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), founded in 1698, and the Society

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<sup>274</sup> Cf. Ibid.190-201.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid. 67.

<sup>276</sup> Cf. Ibid. 191.

for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), founded in 1701;<sup>277</sup> and the evangelical Church Mission Society (CMS) which was established in 1799.<sup>278</sup> The relationship between missionary societies and colonial bishops was often less than smooth. Newly instituted bishops, especially in North America, Africa and India, were often ignored by the mission societies when it came to appointing new clergy, deploying existing ones or consulting about local matters.<sup>279</sup>

Missionary societies took with them a particular version of Anglicanism. They represented what F.D. Maurice called 'systems', which in the metropolis coexisted together in creative, theological and dialogical tension. However, in the colonies they generated an ecclesial homogeneity at the expense of theological diversity. Hence, the English dynamics of divergent views of Church and State relations were also exported by the various missionary societies. For example, the SPCK and the SPG favoured the creation of diocesan and national synods in all new territories, as the final authority in church government. Whilst the evangelical CMS missionaries defended the historic relationship of the established Church of England with the Crown-in-Parliament. Furthermore, the CMS in many places struggled to recognize the authority of the local bishops, instead, looking to the colonial legislature for oversight. This despite the fact that the Secretary of the CMS, Henry Venn, in the 1840s 'developed an ecclesiology based on establishing indigenous churches under indigenous leadership',<sup>280</sup> involving the consecration of local bishops.

### ***5.1.3. The Lambeth Conferences***

There were two turning points in the formation of the Anglican Communion. The first was in 1784, the year in which Samuel Seabury became the first bishop of an autonomous Anglican church outside the British Isles, in Connecticut (USA).<sup>281</sup> As seen above, this marked the beginning of a period of unstoppable growth, as new dioceses were created and new bishops consecrated in the United States and Canada in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and

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<sup>277</sup> Cf. Jacob, *Making of Anglican Church*, 42-43.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. Ibid. 88-89.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Ibid. 78.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid. 109-110.

<sup>281</sup> Cf. Ian Douglas, 'The exigency of times and occasions', in Ian T. Douglas and Kwok Pui-lan (eds.), *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism* (New York: Church Publishing, 2001), 29.

early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Likewise, new provinces were established throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century in India (1835), Australia (1847), South Africa (1853), New Zealand (1858), Canada (1862), West Indies (1883) and Japan (1887). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, other provinces were formed in North America and Oceania, but the greatest expansion took place in China (1930), West Africa (1951), Central Africa (1955), East Africa (1960) and Uganda (1961).<sup>282</sup>

The second turning point was in 1867, the year in which the first Lambeth Conference was summoned by the then archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Longley. For decades, bishops from North America and from different parts of the empire, especially South Africa and Oceania, had been highlighting the need for a global gathering. Part of the issue was the isolation many of them experienced in their local ministry. Another important part was the increasing need for clarity and coordinated guidance in the way they organized their national ecclesial life. Yet, underlying all of this was the controversy around Bishop Colenso of Natal (South Africa), whose teaching on polygamy and certain aspects of Christian doctrine, had created a crisis in the South African church. Colenso had been suspended by his archbishop, but he appealed to the British civil courts (Privy Council), which ruled in his favour.<sup>283</sup> This event did not just undermine the metropolitan authority of the provincial archbishop, but it gave rise to deeper questions about who had the final authority in the national church. It also raised the issue of which should be the last court of appeal in ecclesiastical matters, whether the civil authorities, or the church ones in the person of the archbishop of Canterbury.

American bishops first, informally in the 1850s, and Canadian bishops later, formally in a letter signed in 1865, asked the archbishop of Canterbury to summon a global forum of Anglican bishops. The actual request was for ‘one General Council of her members gathered from every land.’<sup>284</sup> After consideration and consultation with the Canterbury convocation and with bishops from other parts of the world, the archbishop of Canterbury organized, not a general council, but an international conference. He sent invitations to all bishops around the world (except to Bishop Colenso of Natal) in 1866.

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<sup>282</sup> All these dates correspond to the formation of the named provinces. In all of these areas dioceses had been established, in many cases, many decades before.

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Jacob, *Making of Anglican Church*, 146-151.

<sup>284</sup> Address from the Provincial Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada, assembled at Montreal in September, 1865, in Randall T. Davidson (ed.), *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, 1888* (London: SPCK, 1889), 52.

The first Lambeth Conference was celebrated in September 1867, lasting just four days. The letter of invitation to the Conference reveals the purpose of the gathering. Longley wrote:

I propose that, at our assembling, we should first solemnly seek the blessing of Almighty God on our gathering, by uniting together in the highest act of the Church's *worship*. After this, brotherly *consultations* will follow. In these we may consider together many practical questions, the settlement of which would tend to the *advancement of the kingdom* of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and to the *maintenance of greater union* in our *missionary work*, and to *increased intercommunion among ourselves*.<sup>285</sup>

It was clear from the outset that the aim of the conference was for bishops to share in 'united worship and common counsel'<sup>286</sup> to strengthen unity among them. In addition, the conference was not a council, and therefore it 'would not be competent to make declarations or lay down definitions on points of doctrine.'<sup>287</sup> Two fundamental theological reasons laid at the heart of this statement. Firstly, the ecclesiological understanding that Anglican doctrine is already defined by the ancient catholic creeds and explained by the Articles of Religion, and that only a council of the *whole* universal church would be able to define doctrine. Secondly, a recognition of the diversity of doctrinal emphases within the fellowship of worldwide Anglicans. In this sense, by not defining doctrine, or making doctrine the condition for membership, it was seeking to create a broad and inclusive forum where all theological traditions could come together in worship and conversation. These two dimensions of theological praxis, worship and conversation, would become the basis of fellowship and unity over the next hundred and fifty years of Lambeth gatherings. They were also central to the dialogical ecclesiology explored in chapters 8 and 9.

The first Lambeth Conference was attended by seventy six of the one hundred and forty four bishops that received an invitation. Of the seventy six, twenty nine were from the British Isles and the rest from other parts of the world. Despite the time

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid. 12. My italics.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

constrains, the Conference was successful in a number of areas. In just four days, the bishops laid the foundations for coordinated missionary work worldwide and began to define the role of missionary bishops and ecclesiastical boundaries (resolutions 1, 2, 11 and 12). They affirmed synodical church government in all provinces (resolutions 5 and 8). They confirmed the authority of metropolitan bishops (i.e. archbishops) within the college of bishops in each national church. This was in response to the case of Bishop Colenso in South Africa (resolutions 6 and 7). And they encouraged a reasonable, yet flexible, uniformity in the standards of faith and worship throughout the Communion.<sup>288</sup> This latter point was expressed in the following resolution:

That, in order to the binding of the Churches of our colonial empire and the missionary Churches beyond them in the closest union with the Mother-Church, it is *necessary that they receive and maintain without alteration the standards of faith and doctrine as now in use in that Church*. That, nevertheless, *each province should have the right to make such adaptations and additions to the services of the Church as its peculiar circumstances may require*. Provided, that no change or addition be made inconsistent with the spirit and principles of the Book of Common Prayer, and that all such changes be liable to revision by any synod of the Anglican Communion in which the said province shall be represented.<sup>289</sup>

Here, the rule of prayer (*lex orandi*) became the rule of faith (*lex credendi*), through the mediation of the *Book of Common Prayer* adapted, and later translated to, other contexts and languages. One might observe here a between-the-lines tension between the need for liturgical uniformity worldwide, one that mimicked the uniformity of the Church of England, and was regarded as a sign of visible unity; and the need to become culturally and contextually relevant through public worship. This latter aspect was central to the Thirty Nine Articles, and was consistent with the principle of *semper reformanda*.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> For a full account of the resolutions from this conference and all official reports, see Davidson, *Lambeth Conferences*, 99-136.

<sup>289</sup> <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/downloads/1867.pdf> . Accessed 10 August 2014. My italics.

<sup>290</sup> Cf. Article 34 in: Noll, *Confessions*, 224-225.

The format of the four-day conference of 1867, however, was not totally satisfactory and more time was requested in order to discuss many of the pending issues in more depth. The next Lambeth Conference, in 1878, allowed four weeks for prayer, consultation and discussion. This conference, summoned by Archbishop Tait, continued to focus on issues of Anglican organization, authority and identity. On the latter point, the bishops' description of the Conference became a classic definition of Anglican ecclesiology and self-understanding:

United under One Divine Head in the fellowship of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church, holding the One Faith revealed in Holy Writ, defined in the Creeds, and maintained by the Primitive Church, receiving the same Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation these Churches teach the same Word of God, partake of the same divinely-ordained Sacraments, through the ministry of the same Apostolic orders, and worship one God and Father through the same Lord Jesus Christ, by the same Holy and Divine Spirit, Who is given to those that believe, to guide them into all truth.<sup>291</sup>

These words come from the 'report from the committee on the best way of maintaining union among the various churches of the Anglican Communion.'<sup>292</sup> The key principles outlined here include: that the basis of their unity is christological and christocentric, not jurisdictional or structural; that they regard themselves as members of the universal Church; that they believe and confess the Christian faith, contained in both the Bible and the ecumenical creeds of the undivided Church; that the Scriptures contain 'all things necessary to salvation'; that as they share with the universal Church in the ministry of word and sacrament;<sup>293</sup> that they have an episcopal model of government and apostolic order; and that they are a worshipping Trinitarian church. In other words, there is an implicit, yet strong, affirmation of the *lex orandi*.

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<sup>291</sup> Davidson, *Lambeth Conferences*, 165.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> The reference to 'divinely-ordained Sacraments' is ambiguous enough to include those who believed in seven sacraments (anglo-catholics) and those who accepted only the two dominically instituted sacraments (evangelicals).

The 1878 Conference was also able to clarify some of the key themes discussed in 1867. Amongst them, defining clearer boundaries for the developing international Anglican family, the issue of missionary bishops and bishoprics, and ethical issues connected especially with social justice (Christian socialism), polygamy of new converts and divorce. The official letter of the archbishop of Canterbury prior to the Conference was translated into Latin and Greek, as a gesture of good will toward the Roman and Eastern Orthodox churches. Indeed, at the 1878 Conference, it already became clear that the Anglican body of bishops sought unity beyond their historic family of churches.

The third Lambeth Conference took place ten years later, in 1888, with a much clearer emphasis on building bridges with other Christian traditions. At this point, the focus was especially on Scandinavian Lutheran churches, Old Catholic churches, new reformed churches of Europe,<sup>294</sup> and the Eastern churches.<sup>295</sup> This ecumenical vocation of Anglicanism was the main drive behind a document that would eventually become the foundation of contemporary Anglican ecclesiology: the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral.

The Quadrilateral first appeared in the United States, in an essay by William Reed Huntington, titled 'The Church Idea' (1870). In 1886 the American House of Bishops adopted the four marks of the church proposed by Huntington: Bible, creeds, sacraments and episcopal ministry.<sup>296</sup> Two years later, the Lambeth Conference endorsed the Quadrilateral, both as an affirmation of a shared understanding of the church by all Anglican bishops, and as an ecumenical tool, to facilitate what was described as 'Home Reunion' with other churches.<sup>297</sup> The Conference stated that the articles of the Quadrilateral could become 'a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made towards Home Reunion.'<sup>298</sup> The four articles affirmed:

- (1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation', and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

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<sup>294</sup> Especially the Lusitanian Church of Portugal, the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church and the Valdesians in Italy. Some of these groups, like the Old Catholics in central and northern Europe, were formed in protest to the First Vatican Council proclamation of papal infallibility.

<sup>295</sup> Cf. *Encyclical Letter issued by the Bishops attending the third Lambeth Conference, July, 1888*. In Davidson, *Lambeth Conferences*, 273-275.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. William R. Huntington, 'The Church-Idea' (1870, 1899), in Robert W. Prichard (ed.), *Readings from the History of the Episcopal Church* (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse-Barlow, 1986), 116-131.

<sup>297</sup> Davidson, *Lambeth Conferences*, 272.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.* 280.

(2) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself: Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, fundamental signs of the Church, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.<sup>299</sup>

Of these articles, the first three were reasonably noncontroversial. They stated the essential elements shared by Catholic and Reformed Christianity. The fourth statement, however, posed serious questions for any future Anglican-Protestant ecumenical dialogue. The inclusion of the historic episcopate was discussed at length in the Conference, aware of the sensitivities of non-episcopal Protestants both in North America and Europe, but also in the missionary colonies. Yet, at the end, it was felt that for the sake of ecclesiological integrity it had to remain central in any future path to unity.<sup>300</sup>

The third Lambeth Conference, in addition, dealt with a number of significant ethical issues at the time, including polygamy, divorce, socialism, the treatment of immigrants, and the observance of the Sabbath (Sunday). It also resolved in favour of tightening the accountability amongst provinces when it came to revising the *Book of Common Prayer* in their own contexts. However, one of the most significant features of this conference was the increasing self-confidence of the bishops, both in their articulation of a shared ecclesiology and in their (over)ambitious sense of vocation to be the driving agents of a future cross-denominational ecclesial union.

Future conferences continued to build up this sense of confidence, entering into full communion with other churches, and defining Anglican identity within the global context.<sup>301</sup> It is to the latter issue of identity that I now turn, seeking to explore how Anglican self-perception developed, especially, throughout the twentieth century, and the role played by authority in the Communion.

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid. 280-81.

<sup>300</sup> Cf. Thomas, 'Lambeth conferences', 91.

<sup>301</sup> This was only marred by the two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century, when the attention was redirected to the immediate needs of the new post-war situation.



## 5.2. Anglican identity development: koinonia and alterity

The transition from a national church to an international family of churches, as we have seen above, unavoidably raised questions of identity. As the Church of England adapted to other lands, through British migrants, missionary societies and missionary bishops, it found itself in very different social contexts. Abroad the church was no longer a culturally rooted, socially privileged, politically influential institution. Partial inculturation would come later, through the development of a native leadership and the establishment of autonomous provinces. And the level of social and political influence would vary from nation to nation. However, one thing had certainly changed: Anglicans abroad did not and could not draw their identity from being a majority, national, established church.

The parish and diocesan systems, which in England gave geographic and pastoral cover to the nation, could only be partially exported, with much larger or at times unclear boundaries. The Anglican minister did no longer have the cure of souls of all those who lived in their parish, but rather of the members of their local community. In this sense they acted as chaplains or congregational ministers, rather than parish priests.<sup>302</sup> Likewise, their role, certainly in the African and Asian colonies, was essentially a missionary one. Through education, evangelism and public worship, they engaged in mission work seeking to convert native peoples to the Christian faith.

In many ways, missionaries exported a type of Anglicanism, evangelical or anglo-catholic, which represented the ethos of their sponsoring missionary societies. This shaped the ecclesial identity of many new dioceses and provinces. In other ways, they had to reinvent their church abroad, experiencing new challenges: ethical, cultural, linguistic and of geographical isolation. The main ethical challenge posed by missionary work in Africa was how to respond to converts who were in polygamous marriages. This question, as pointed out above, was a recurring one in successive Lambeth Conferences from 1867 onwards.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> In the Diocese in Europe local churches continue to be called ‘chaplaincies’ and their clergy ‘chaplains’ to their particular communities.

<sup>303</sup> Polygamy was discussed up until the 1958 Lambeth Conference (resolution 120), when the issue was referred to the Advisory Council on Mission Strategy; and in the 1988 Lambeth Conference (resolution 26). See: <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1958/1958-120.cfm> and <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1988/1988-26.cfm> Accessed 12 October 2014.

The development of Anglican self-perception and ecclesial identity was a complex one. For Mark Harris there continues to be two unresolved issues: mutuality and establishment. According to the American Episcopal theologian, these issues ‘remain in tension in the Anglican Communion because the Church of England has not resolved its own internal issues of establishment, and all the rest of us have not solved the problem of being Anglican without being English.’<sup>304</sup> Of these two, the latter aspect has been particularly significant in Anglican identity. Anglicanism defined as Englishness is deeply connected with postcolonial Anglican identity.

In the early Lambeth Conferences, as shown above, identity was defined in theological, sacramental and ministerial terms. Anglican bishops saw themselves as part of God’s universal Church, a Church that was essentially a Trinitarian worshipping community, that maintained the two sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, as well as the historic episcopate. In line with Hookerian ecclesiology, they affirmed multiple sources of authority: first, the Bible, and secondly, the ancient creeds and witness of the early Church Fathers. In the following decades, successive Lambeth Conferences would affirm an expanded version of Hooker’s hermeneutical paradigm, referring to Scripture, tradition, reason *and* experience as the key elements of theological reflection. All of these identity elements were broadly founded on the Quadrilateral.

### ***5.2.1. Toward a definition of ‘identity’***

The concept of ‘identity’ contains multiple semantic connotations. It is beyond the scope of this study to address the debate on identity posed by sociology or psychology. Most social identity theories seek to make the connections between role identity, personal identity and social identity.<sup>305</sup> As pointed out by Stets and Burke, social identities and

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<sup>304</sup> Mark Harris, *The challenge of change: the Anglican Communion in the post-modern era* (New York: Church Publishing, 1998), 37.

<sup>305</sup> Especially: D. Abrams, and M.A. Hogg, *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances* (London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1990); Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets, *Identity theory* (New York: OUP, 2009); K. Deaux, ‘Personalizing identity and socializing self’, in G. M. Blackwell (ed.), *Social psychology of identity and the self-concept* (London: Surrey University Press, 1992), 9-33; Alexander S. Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations - The Social Identity Approach* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2001); Sheldon Stryker, *Symbolic interactionism: a social structural version* (Caldwell, NJ: Blackburn, 2002); H. Tajfel and J.C. Turner, ‘The social identity theory of inter-group behavior’, in S. Worchel and L. W. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (Chigago: Nelson-Hall, 1986). J.C. Turner, ‘Towards a

role identities can simultaneously exist in a situation with the result that there are both similarities and differences with others.<sup>306</sup> Whereas social identity emphasizes similarities, individual role identities stress differences. Both similarities and differences are key factors in identity articulation. I propose here a working definition that recognizes these two dimensions, based on the theological notion of *koinonia*, in the sense of ‘communion’ or ‘things held in common’, and on the philosophical notion of *alterity*, in the sense of the ‘other’, or those in contrast to whom an identity is constructed. This definition is applied here to Anglican self-understanding at three levels: global Anglicanism, national expressions and ecclesiological groups (or systems, in F.D. Maurice’s categorization).

The notion of *koinonia*, from the Greek verb *κοινωνέω*, meaning to share, take part or participate, appears in certain New Testament passages to describe the common life shared by Christians as part of the community or fellowship (*κοινωνία*) of faith. *Koinonia* involves relationship and commonality. An identity that is based on *koinonia* places the emphasis on the whole, rather than on the parts. It draws identity from what is shared and held in common with others, rather than on the things that makes a group unique or different from others. In the New Testament these shared ecclesial elements included: the Trinitarian spiritual communion with God, through Christ, in the power of the Spirit (vertical dimension);<sup>307</sup> the sharing in fellowship, prayer and generous giving to the needs of poorer Christians (horizontal dimension);<sup>308</sup> and the sharing in the breaking of bread (sacramental dimension).<sup>309</sup>

This notion of *koinonia* has been summarized by Roman Catholics and Protestants as ‘those things that bind Christians together’.<sup>310</sup> It has also become central, in broader ecumenical discussions, ‘in the quest for a common understanding of the nature of the

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cognitive redefinition of the social group’, in Henry Tajfel (ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. (Cambridge: CUP, 1982).

<sup>306</sup> Cf. Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. ‘Identity theory and social identity theory’, *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63 (2000), 224-237

<sup>307</sup> Cf. 1 John 1:3; 1 Timothy 2:4; 2 Corinthians 5:17.

<sup>308</sup> Cf. Romans 15:26; 2 Corinthians 8:3-4; Acts 2:42-45.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. Acts 2:42; 1 Corinthians 10:16.

<sup>310</sup> See: ‘Church, evangelization and the bonds of *koinonia*, A Report of the International Consultation between the Catholic Church and the World Evangelical Alliance (1993 – 2002)’, in [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/chrstuni/evangelicals-docs/rc\\_pc\\_chrstuni\\_doc\\_20111220\\_report-1993-2002\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/evangelicals-docs/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_20111220_report-1993-2002_en.html) Accessed 4 November 2015.

Church and its visible unity.’<sup>311</sup> Swedish Lutheran theologian Minna Hietamäki, in her *Agreeable Agreement*, explores the importance of koinonia in Roman Catholic-Lutheran discussions. For her, the notion of koinonia acts as a lens, or mediating concept, between specific doctrinal emphases in the two churches. In her view, the koinonia relationship is essentially a ‘complementarity relationship.’<sup>312</sup> Although Hietamäki does not employ this theological concept as an identity definer, her complementarity understanding of koinonia is very valuable. Koinonia, ecumenically, involves the recognition of real differences and ‘requires less in the traditional sense of sameness.’<sup>313</sup> Koinonia involves communion and fellowship, not necessarily consensus or having a common mind.<sup>314</sup> Following this understanding of koinonia, a working definition of koinonia-based-identity, could be: the self-perception of a group (in this case, Anglicans), from the perspective of the things they share in common, and a recognition of diversity and mutuality. Koinonia identity affirms the entire shared heritage, including the differences.<sup>315</sup> It therefore contains the recognition of alterity.

The concept of ‘alterity’ was first described by Emmanuel Levinas in his work, *Alterity and Transcendence*.<sup>316</sup> Levinas builds on German philosopher Martin Buber, whose work *I and Thou* makes the distinction between an individual’s relationship with a *Thou*, that is, another person in whose presence we stand, and the individual’s connection with an *It*, that is an object that can be experienced. In the case of the *Thou*, the relationship is based on an encounter: *I meet Thou*, for ‘all real living is meeting.’<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> *The Nature and Mission of the Church*. Geneva: WCC, 2005.

<sup>312</sup> Minna Hietamäki, *Agreeable Agreement: an examination on the quest for consensus in ecumenical dialogue* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 188.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>314</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 157.

<sup>315</sup> On the notion of koinonia ecclesiology, from a Roman Catholic perspective see: Jean-Marie Tillard, *Eglise d'Eglises: L'ecclésiologie de communion* (Paris: Cerf, 1987); from an Orthodox point of view see: John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's, 1985); from a Protestant perspective see: Miroslav Volf, *After Our Likeness: The Church as the Image of the Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); and Heinrich Holtz (ed.), *The Church as Communion: Lutheran Contributions to Ecclesiology* (Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 1997). An ecumenical sampling can be found in Thomas F. Best and Günther Grassmann (eds.), *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia: Official Report of the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order*, Faith and Order Paper no. 166 (Geneva: WCC, 1994). Other helpful articles include: George Vandervelde, ‘Koinonia Ecclesiology-Ecumenical Breakthrough?’ *One in Christ* 29.2 (1993), 126-142; and Susan K. Wood, ‘The Church as Communion’, in Peter Phan (ed.), *The Gift of the Church: a textbook on ecclesiology in honor of Patrick Granfield* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 159-176.

<sup>316</sup> Cf. Emmanuel Levinas, *Alterity and Transcendence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

<sup>317</sup> Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1923), 11.

Buber's philosophy of dialogue affirms the dialogical I-Thou relationship as a primary one.

According to Levinas, 'Buber's thought prompted me to engage in a phenomenology of sociality'.<sup>318</sup> For Levinas, 'the face of the other' is the face of human mortality, of human vulnerability, but above all, it is his overarching metaphor for the notion of alterity.<sup>319</sup> The relationship with the other is not necessarily reciprocal, as argued by Buber, but asymmetrical.<sup>320</sup> In addition, it has an ethical dimension of responsibility toward the other, translated into an active response to their pain.<sup>321</sup> In this relational encounter with the other, Levinas describes the ethical implications of loving one's neighbour, with these words:

[I]s loving one's neighbour anything other than this? Not the facile, spontaneous *élan*, but the difficult working on oneself: to go toward the Other where he is truly other, in the radical contradiction of their alterity, that place from which, for an insufficiently mature soul, hatred flows naturally or is deduced with infallible logic.<sup>322</sup>

This proactive movement toward the other, and embracement of the other's integrity ('where he is truly other') is not easy. Part of the difficulty lies in the distance, also described as 'the difference', between the *I* and the *other*, who is at times described as 'the stranger'.<sup>323</sup> The other difficulty lies in the fact that we are required to come out of ourselves, of our comfort zone, of those things that define who we are.<sup>324</sup>

For Levinas, 'in that relation to the other, there is no fusion: the relation to the other is envisioned as alterity. The other is alterity.'<sup>325</sup> In other words, the other retains his/her distinctiveness, uniqueness, and 'irreducible *alterity*'.<sup>326</sup> The notion of alterity is

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<sup>318</sup> Levinas, *Alterity*, 103.

<sup>319</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 24. The dimension of human mortality and death is explored particularly in chapter 11.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 100-102.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 32-37, 76.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.* 88.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 93, 97.

<sup>324</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.* 103.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.* 126.

explained within the philosophical and ethical framework of his book in the following passage.

The question must be asked apropos of the identity of the *I* — whether the alterity of the other does not *have, from the start*, the character of an absolute [...] We must ask ourselves whether peace, instead of consisting in the absorption or the disappearance of alterity, would not on the contrary be the *fraternal* way of a proximity to the other, which would not be simply the failure of coincidence with the other, but which would signify precisely the *excess* of sociality over all solitude - excess of sociality and love.<sup>327</sup>

For peace to exist alterity does not need to disappear, but encountered and embraced and treated as ‘the inassimilable other, the irreducible other, the unique other.’<sup>328</sup> This ethical dimension of our relationship with the other, with the neighbour, is essential in Levinas’ understanding of personal identity and alterity.

Levinas’ notion of alterity has been taken up by Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and other postmodern and deconstructionist authors.<sup>329</sup> For philosophers like Derrida, ‘identity comes only from alterity, called by the other.’<sup>330</sup> For Foucault, identity ‘can only be moulded by a fundamental exclusion preceding it. This is the exclusion of the Other creating the Self.’<sup>331</sup> In other words, we define identity ‘by opposing it to what it is not (by differentiating it from its ‘other’).’<sup>332</sup> The notion of ‘alterity’ has also been applied to ‘identity’ by the American political theorist William Connolly, who believes that ‘identity requires difference in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness.’<sup>333</sup>

This second dimension of identity is crucial in a contemporary understanding of Anglican self-perception. In practice, it has two distinct expressions, an exclusive and an

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<sup>327</sup> Ibid. 137.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid. 138.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. Jack Reynolds, *Merleau-Ponty and Derrida: Intertwining Embodiment and Alterity* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004).

<sup>330</sup> Geoffrey Bennington, *Jacques Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 143.

<sup>331</sup> Machiel Karskens, ‘Alterity as Defect’, in R. Corbey and J. Lerssen (eds.), *Alterity, Identity, Image: selves and others in society and scholarship* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991), 88.

<sup>332</sup> Ernst Van Alphen, ‘The Other Within’, in Corbey and Lerssen, *Alterity*, 2.

<sup>333</sup> William Connolly, *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Minneapolis, Minn.: UMP, 1991), 64.

inclusive one. The emphasis in the exclusive approach to alterity is not on the whole, but on the parts, be they national churches, ecclesial alignment groups, or systems. The parts here define their own group identity in direct opposition to *other* parts. Even to the point of asserting that their particular Anglican identity is the only true identity.

The inclusive view of alterity is defended by Rowan Williams in his *Tokens of Trust*. He defines the church relationally as ‘a community of active peacemaking and peacekeeping where no one exists in isolation or grows in isolation or suffers in isolation.’<sup>334</sup> According to Williams, the church’s slogan should always be ‘not without the other’, affirming thus the positive alterity that takes place when one encounters and accepts the other just as they are. For him, in this process, the ‘difference between I and you remains real difference – otherwise there would be no challenge about it.’<sup>335</sup> And he concludes that ‘believing in the Church is really believing in the unique gift of the other that God has given you to live with.’<sup>336</sup>

The understanding of identity followed in this thesis is therefore based on the binary ‘koinonia-alterity’. From this narrow perspective, ‘identity’ refers to the self-perception of a group, affirming both commonality and difference. In the case of the Anglican Communion as a whole, this could be translated, in a simplified manner, as (a) an affirmation of its core beliefs as expressed, for instance, in the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, and (b) as an assertion of the diverse cultural and theological traditions within Anglicanism (inclusive alterity). If we follow an exclusive approach to alterity, the focus would be on the things that make Anglicans distinctive, or different from *others*; for example, unlike ‘others’ (i.e. Roman Catholics) Anglicans do not have a pope; unlike ‘others’ (i.e. fundamentalist Christians) most Anglicans do not believe in the inerrancy of Scripture; and so forth. Both *koinonia* and *alterity* serve as two guiding elements in identity formulation and, at different times, in different contexts, by different groups of people, one is emphasized over the other. True koinonia includes alterity, and positive alterity should always lead to koinonia. Both are needed in order to assert one’s identity, religious or otherwise.

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<sup>334</sup> Rowan Williams, *Tokens of Trust: An introduction to Christian belief* (London: Canterbury Press, 2007), 106.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

### 5.2.2. *Modernity and Anglican identity*

Historically, there seems to be a consensus amongst Anglican scholars that the ecclesial identity of the Church of England was profoundly shaped by modernity.<sup>337</sup> This was clear from the first part of this thesis, where I showed the two key contexts that shaped Anglicanism: the 16<sup>th</sup> century Renaissance and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Enlightenment. Modernity, with its emphases on humanism, individualism, scientific research and rationalism, was certainly the backdrop for the emerging and developing *ecclesia anglicana*.

For William Sachs, Anglicanism's engagement with modernity had both positive and negative aspects. From the point of view of the transplanting of Anglicanism to other parts of the world, it had a positive effect, for the 'modern search for the Church's essence resulted in opportunities for its ideals to transcend English expression.'<sup>338</sup> The notion of 'Englishness', often associated with modern and colonial Anglican identity, despite been considered by Sachs as something of the past, for scholars like Mark Harris, and others in the postcolonial debate, still remains to be resolved.<sup>339</sup>

The negative aspect of modernity, according to Sachs, is that it has 'burdened the Church with a tension between protection of its distinctiveness and adaptation to its cultural locus.'<sup>340</sup> Sachs concludes that 'Anglicans have found that both opportunity and threat are endemic to their modern experience'<sup>341</sup> and locates the current crisis in the Anglican Communion in the failure of Anglicanism to respond to the challenges of modernity in a coherent, unified manner. For him, modernity has 'proven to be both Anglicanism's glory and its frustration, a paradox without apparent means of resolution.'<sup>342</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> One of the best recent studies on this subject is found in a collection of essays by eight Cambridge theologians: Duncan Dormor et al. (eds.), *Anglicanism: the answer to modernity* (London: Continuum, 2003). See also: William J. Danaher, "Beyond Imagination: 'Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ' (1963) and the Reinvention of Canadian Anglicanism", *ATR* 93.2 (2011), 219-241.

<sup>338</sup> Sachs, *Transformation*, 31.

<sup>339</sup> Harris makes a somewhat postcolonial appeal to root Anglican identity not on Englishness (the past) but on community and theologically on the doctrine of the incarnation. Cf. Harris, *The challenge of change*, 62. See also: Glauco S. De Lima, 'Preface' in Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 1-8.

<sup>340</sup> Sachs, *Transformation*, 31.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.* 336.



Ian Douglas too believes that Anglicanism ‘is a thoroughly *modern* phenomenon – with “modern” understood as the age of modernity, the last 500 years, the Age of the Enlightenment.’<sup>343</sup> This, in his view, has impacted on Anglican philosophical and theological thought, valuing a form of rationalism which clearly follows a dualistic approach based on binary constructs. For Douglas, modernity has become a major negative force for the Anglican Communion, hindering the development of mutuality and interdependence.<sup>344</sup>

The greatest challenge facing the Anglican Communion today, according to him, is how it responds to the twofold current transitions: from modernity to postmodernity, and from colonial to postcolonial. He observes that, ‘[t]he movement within Anglicanism from being a Church grounded in modernity and secure in the Enlightenment, to postmodern or extra-modern reality is as tumultuous as the shift from colonialism to postcolonialism.’<sup>345</sup> This aspect will be explored in more depth in chapter 7. Suffice it to say at this stage that historic Anglicanism has been tremendously shaped by modernity and colonialism until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century other cultural and philosophical forces are competing for influence.

One of the most comprehensive and clear articulations of how modernity has shaped Anglicanism is from Cambridge scholar Timothy Jenkins. In his essay, ‘Anglicanism: the only answer to modernity’, Jenkins describes how from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, different churches have responded in different ways to modernity. He highlights three social dimensions or emphases which religious and civil powers have had to wrestle with: order, freedom and human flourishing. Catholicism, he argues, favoured ‘order’ over freedom in its pursue of human flourishing. Protestants emphasized individual ‘freedom’ over order in their search for human maturity. Anglicanism, he affirms, ‘because it was born in the struggle between the advocates of order and those of freedom, tends to suggest that order and freedom should be subservient to human flourishing.’<sup>346</sup>

Whilst Jenkins analysis is an attractive and historically plausible one, his attempt to explain how Anglicanism was not just shaped by modernity, but is also the answer to modernity, seems less satisfactory. He highlights two ways in which Anglicanism offers a

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<sup>343</sup> Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 28-29.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. Ibid. 30.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid. 31

<sup>346</sup> Timothy Jenkins, ‘Anglicanism: the only answer to modernity’, in Dormor, *Anglicanism*, 193.

unique and positive response to modernity: ‘territorial embeddedness’ and a ‘conversational mode’.<sup>347</sup> The former relates to the geographic organization of the church at parish, diocesan and national levels. The latter, in his analysis, reflects the horizontal nature of Anglican ministry and leadership. In terms of territorial embeddedness, it is worth making two observations: first, that this is not unique to Anglicanism, but is shared by all historic territorial churches, at least, in Europe; secondly, that this is not shared by all churches in the Anglican Communion, but is a predominantly English phenomenon. In terms of his emphasis on a conversational mode, it is also worth noting that this approach to ministry and leadership is widespread in Western Anglicanism, but not so prominent in other postcolonial contexts, especially parts of Africa and Asia.<sup>348</sup>

### ***5.2.3. The real ideal of ‘comprehensiveness’***

One of the ways in which Anglican identity has been shaped in response to modernity is through the notion of ‘comprehensiveness’. This aspect has been central to Anglicanism from the Elizabethan Settlement to the present day. It may be defined, somewhat optimistically, as a mature celebration of diversity. More accurately, it has been experienced as a respectful coexistence of different theological integrities. Comprehensiveness is associated with church parties or ‘systems’, as F.D. Maurice would describe them, and with the Hookerian notion of dispersed theological authority. In 1931, following the seventh Lambeth Conference, R.H. Malden, expressed his concerns about Anglican identity with the following words:

If the Church of England is Catholic it is not what the largest body of Catholics in the world (the Roman Church) understands by that. If it is Protestant it is not what all other Protestants understand by that. If it is both, is it merely holding side by side two irreconcilable ideals which can never coalesce, and is this made possible partly by an illogical and none too reputable compromise, and partly by the containing power of the State? Or does its apparently anomalous character represent a *real ideal* which is not found elsewhere, which is becoming more

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<sup>347</sup> Ibid. 199.

<sup>348</sup> This aspect will be explored in more depth in Part III of this thesis.

completely articulate as time goes on and the Anglican Communion harvests new and wider experiences in many lands?<sup>349</sup>

Malden was describing here the three classic approaches to Anglican self-definition: one that asserted the catholicity of Anglicanism, to the exclusion - even denial - of any Protestant theological genes; one that affirmed reformed Anglican theology, whilst rejecting catholic elements; and a third strand that sought to affirm, not so much a *via media*, but an integration of both catholic and reformed ecclesiologies within one family. For Malden, the latter emphasis, which he described as the 'real ideal' of comprehensiveness, was at the heart of Anglican ecclesiology. In Maurice's tradition, it advocated an Anglican synthesis that affirmed both catholic and reformed elements in the church not as opposed, but as complementary and necessary to each other.

By 1930, the Lambeth Conference was able to affirm that central to Anglican identity was the holding together, 'in our one fellowship', not just two, but three strands or theological traditions: catholic, protestant *and* liberal. According to the bishops:

Our special character and, as we believe, our peculiar contribution to the Universal Church, arises from the fact that, owing to historic circumstances, we have been enabled to contribute in our one fellowship the traditional Faith and Order of the Catholic Church with that immediacy of approach to God through Christ to which the Evangelical Churches especially bear witness, and freedom of intellectual enquiry, whereby the correlation of the Christian revelation and advancing knowledge is constantly effected.<sup>350</sup>

The inclusion of the 'third tradition', namely 'liberalism', was significant. This was a departure from previous Lambeth conferences since, for the first time, the bishops recognized publicly the contributions of liberal enquiry to the life of the church.<sup>351</sup> It also reflected what William Sachs calls 'the Anglican consensus', represented by the growing

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<sup>349</sup> R.H. Malden, *This Church and Realm* (London: OUP, 1931), 37.

<sup>350</sup> *The Lambeth Conference, 1930: Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with Resolutions and Reports* (London: SPCK, 1930), 113-114.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. Thomas, 'Lambeth conferences', 139.

influence of liberal catholicism in the Anglican Communion, during the latter part of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth.<sup>352</sup>

The 1968 Lambeth Conference defined ‘comprehensiveness’ as a foundational aspect of the Anglican quest for truth, with reference to the notion of *adiaphora*. What follows is one of the clearest articulated definitions of comprehensiveness as a defining element of Anglican identity:

Comprehensiveness demands agreement on fundamentals, while tolerating disagreement on matters in which Christians may differ without feeling the necessity of breaking communion. In the mind of an Anglican, comprehensiveness is not compromise. Nor is it to bargain one truth for another. It is not a sophisticated word for syncretism. Rather it implies that the apprehension of truth is a growing thing: we only gradually succeed in ‘knowing the truth’. It has been the tradition of Anglicanism to contain within one body both Protestant and Catholic elements. But there is a continuing search for the whole truth in which these elements will find complete reconciliation. Comprehensiveness implies a willingness to allow liberty of interpretation, with a certain slowness in arresting or restraining exploratory thinking.<sup>353</sup>

Interestingly, for the bishops who wrote these words, the reconciliation of Catholic and Reformed traditions within Anglicanism, is subject to the freedom of liberal enquiry, in the form of ‘liberty of interpretation’ and of ‘exploratory thinking’. In this respect, whilst liberalism is not explicitly named as a third tradition, its ethos and method are affirmed as an implicit and essential aspect of Anglican thought.

Also in the decade of the 1960s, Emmanuel de Mendieta, a Belgian Benedictine scholar who embraced Anglicanism, echoed this notion of comprehensiveness. De Mendieta, however, urged the church to go beyond partisan toleration to a true Anglican synthesis. He wrote:

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<sup>352</sup> Cf. Sachs, *Transformation*, 147-163.

<sup>353</sup> *The Lambeth Conference, 1968: Resolutions and Reports* (London: SPCK, 1968), 140.

I am convinced that the historic mission or destiny of the Church of England, and, on a wider scale, the destiny of the world-wide Anglican Communion, is to make a theological and also a practical synthesis of Catholicism and Protestantism. Up to the present, we may say, the Church of England has too often been content with a more or less tolerant coexistence, a mere juxtaposition of different ideas, points of view, theologies, and practices, having no higher ambition than to keep a kind of precarious peace or rather truce, by letting sleeping dogs lie. But, to that extent, this so-called ‘comprehensive’ Church of England has failed to rise to the height of its historic and providential vocation. Our church must bestir itself and become a genuine dialectical Church committed to the view that all these views or particular theologies (Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical, Liberal) must all be transcended in a higher synthesis.<sup>354</sup>

It is hard to read these words without recognising the theology of F.D. Maurice in de Mendieta’s thought. Maurice’s essentialist synthesis is articulated here with the clarity and intellectual coherence of someone who has immersed himself in the study of the full ecclesiological breadth of Anglicanism, and who can see the potential of the Anglican tradition to realize its deepest vocation. The issue raised by de Mendieta, which was highlighted by Maurice, is whether Anglican identity is the result of searching for ‘rootage’ in just one moment in history (e.g. antiquity, the 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation, or modern times),<sup>355</sup> or whether it is able to embrace its entire history, and not just part of it. In de Mendieta’s vision, it was the latter, yet not at the expense of annulling individual traditions, but as an affirmation of both *koinonia* and *alterity*.<sup>356</sup>

Ian Douglas too offers his particular definition of comprehensiveness. He describes Anglican identity as ‘the embrace and celebration of apostolic catholicity within vernacular moments.’<sup>357</sup> Apostolic catholicity represents the inherited tradition of historic doctrine and practice; whilst vernacular moments refer to the instances in which the church has been called to translate its message to new cultures, languages and

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<sup>354</sup> Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta, ‘From Anglican Symbiosis to Anglican Synthesis’, in W.R.F. Browning (ed.), *The Anglican Synthesis: Essays by Catholics and Evangelicals* (Derby: Peter Smith, 1964), 147.

<sup>355</sup> Cf. Sachs, *Transformation*, 1-31.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta, *Anglican Vision* (London: SPCK, 1971), 37-66; 108-11.

<sup>357</sup> Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 40.

contexts. The former is connected with continuity, the latter with change. The first highlights received tradition, the second the spirit of the *semper reformanda*. For Douglas, when Anglicans fossilize the contextual vernacular moment of the 16<sup>th</sup> century reformation, they betray ‘the genius of the original English Reformation.’<sup>358</sup>

Comprehensiveness is therefore central to Anglican self-understanding. It affirms koinonia as a fundamental aspect of identity. It goes beyond a static definition of the coexistence of different theologies within a church organization, and points to a dynamic relationship between different groups. At one level, comprehensiveness is simply the recognition of each other’s integrity and the celebration of diversity without the need for sameness, as advocated by Minna Hietamäki. At another level, as Maurice, de Mendieta, and Ian Douglas, among others, affirm, it should be regarded as a synthesis of the diverse influences that shape Anglican identity.

#### ***5.2.4. Contemporary articulations of Anglican identity***

Outside of England and the Anglo-Saxon world, there have been very few attempts to engage in depth with the issue of Anglican identity. With the exception of Michael Fape in Nigeria,<sup>359</sup> and of South African theologians Janet Trisk and Luke Pato,<sup>360</sup> few African Anglicans have devoted much if any attention to the notion of identity.<sup>361</sup> In Australia, Bruce Kaye has addressed the issue of an Australian Anglican identity in a successful and creative manner.<sup>362</sup> In North America, Canadian theologians like Darryll Bryant, Wendy Fletcher, and Alan Hayes have explored Anglican identity from a Canadian perspective

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<sup>358</sup> Ibid. 39.

<sup>359</sup> Cf. Michael O. Fape, ‘National Anglican Identity Formation: an African perspective’, *JAS* 6.01 (2008), 17-30.

<sup>360</sup> Cf. Luke Pato, ‘Anglicanism and Africanisation’, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 101 (1998), 49-57; and Janet Trisk and Luke Pato, ‘Theological Education and Anglican Identity in South Africa’, *JAS* 6.01 (2008), 59-67.

<sup>361</sup> N. Ndungane and S. Chiwanga have also touched on Anglican African identity indirectly in two interesting essays: Ndungane, Njongonkulu. ‘Scripture: what is at issue in Anglicanism today?’, and Chiwanga, Simon E. ‘Beyond the monarch/chief: reconsidering the episcopacy in Africa’. Both published in Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. Bruce Kaye, *Reinventing Anglicanism: a vision of confidence, community and engagement in Anglican Christianity* (New York: Church Publishing Inc., 2004). Also in Australia, Thomas Frame has tangentially touched on Anglican identity from a conservative evangelical perspective in Thomas R. Frame, *Anglicans in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW, 2007).

(including ethnic Anglicanism).<sup>363</sup> And in the USA, recent attempts to articulate an Anglican-Episcopal identity include the works of Ian T. Douglas, Mark Harris and Dwight Zscheile.<sup>364</sup> The most influential and in-depth analysis of Anglican identity in the latter part of the twentieth century, however, have been articulated by English theologians. I will now devote some attention to three of these authors: Stephen Sykes, Paul Avis and Martyn Percy.

In *The Integrity of Anglicanism*, Sykes affirmed that ‘to inquire into the identity of Anglicanism is to ask whether there is any internal rationale binding Anglicans together as “church”’.<sup>365</sup> In his introduction, he describes ‘the integrity of Anglicanism’ as ‘its coherent identity’.<sup>366</sup> In this book, he sets out to show not only that such a coherent identity exists, but what it looks like.

He begins by wrestling with the notion of the limits of diversity within the church, in what he describes as the ‘crisis of Anglican comprehensiveness’.<sup>367</sup> For him, the historic appeal to comprehensiveness has been used as an excuse for theological apathy amongst Anglican divines. In the following chapters he explores four areas in which an Anglican identity may be rooted: theology/doctrine, theological method, ecclesiology and authority.

Sykes defines Anglican identity following a twofold distinction between: that which is *unique* to Anglicanism, namely its inner theological and ecclesiological diversity,<sup>368</sup> its concept of dispersed authority<sup>369</sup> and its approach to dealing with ecclesial conflict; and that which is *specific*, but not necessarily unique, to Anglicanism. The latter includes its ‘claim that the Christian faith is sufficiently contained in [...] the Bible and the faith of the undivided church’.<sup>370</sup> For Sykes, its inner diversity is in and of itself significant and unique ecclesologically. And its doctrinal corpus, shared with other protestant, Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, is primarily and uniquely articulated,

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<sup>363</sup> Cf. Darryll Bryant, *Canadian Anglicanism at the dawn of a new century* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2001); Fletcher, Wendy. ‘Canadian Anglicanism and Ethnicity’, in Paul Bramadat and David Seljat (eds.), *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Alan Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada: controversies and identity in historical perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

<sup>364</sup> Cf. Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*; Harris, *The challenge of change*; Dwight Zscheile, *People of the Way: renewing Episcopal identity* (New York: Morehouse Publishing, 2012).

<sup>365</sup> Stephen Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism* (London/Oxford: Mowbrays, 1978), 1.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.* 8-25.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.* 54, 85.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.* 89.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.* 67.

not through ‘confessions of faith’ or *summae theologicae*, but in its liturgy, affirming the principle of the *lex orandi*.<sup>371</sup>

Finally, his understanding of dispersed authority (found in the triad, Scripture-reason-tradition) is unique to Anglicanism. Whereas both protestant denominations and Roman Catholicism possess centralized forms of theological authority, in the Bible and the bishop of Rome respectively, Anglicans believe that all forms of (dispersed) earthly authorities point to the one and only ‘source of authority which is the freedom and love of the Triune God.’<sup>372</sup> For Sykes, ‘in human life, in scripture, in the creeds, in the decisions of councils, in the liturgical order and canon law, in church leadership, there is only the discovery of authority, not its embodiment.’<sup>373</sup>

More recently, Paul Avis has also formulated his personal understanding of Anglican identity in *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*. Avis devotes his first chapter, ‘In search of Anglican identity’, to exploring a number of sociological and psychological identity theories, and to apply these to Anglicanism. His starting point is Durkheim’s definition of the identity of a group or society as ‘the idea which it forms of itself.’<sup>374</sup> For Avis, identity ‘contains a dynamic of stability and change, sameness and development, continuity and adaptation.’<sup>375</sup> This binary approach to identity permeates his entire reflection on Anglican identity.

The first theory is from American theologian George Stroup who affirms that in the church there is ‘an ecclesiastical and a theological crisis’<sup>376</sup> of identity. For Stroup, the real issue is that churches draw their identity not from God (their understanding of God), but from culture and society.<sup>377</sup> Avis does not address this fundamental question. Instead, he goes on to apply Stroup’s ‘four symptoms of this theological and spiritual malaise’<sup>378</sup> (Bible, tradition, theology and personal identity) to Anglicanism and raises questions that Anglicans need to address in order to root their identity on firm ground. He does not, however, offer any pointers or answers to these questions. For example, in relation to the role of the Bible, he highlights the tension between biblical criticism and

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<sup>371</sup> Ibid. 43-47.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid. 98.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 1.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Cf. George W. Stroup, *The Promise of Narrative Theology* (London: Wipf & Stock Pub, 1997), 21.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid.

<sup>378</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 2-3.



fundamentalism. He acknowledges the ‘unbridgeable chasm’ between these two extremes, but offers no solution to this challenge.<sup>379</sup>

Avis introduces a sociological argument to distinguish between two types of churches: those that fall under the category of what he describes as ‘sociological catholicism’; and those that do not. His definition of sociological catholicism refers to the ‘indigenous and territorial churches with deep national or cultural roots.’<sup>380</sup> These include the Church of England, but also territorial Lutheranism, Calvinism, Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity. These churches, because of their history and hegemonic place in society, do not have a strong sense of identity in relation to others. They are the Christian church of the land. Their identity does not need to be articulated. The second group, by implication, given its lack of social, territorial and cultural rootage, needs to define its identity, in relation to others, in clearer ways. In the case of Anglicanism, not all Anglican churches in the Communion would be catholic in this sociological sense. Many of them would draw their local identity from alterity.

He then raises the question of whether we should speak of Anglican identity or Anglican identities. His answer is twofold. First, theologically, there is ‘a distinct Anglican version of Christianity’<sup>381</sup> and his book attempts to explore it through a historical analysis of Anglicanism. Secondly, sociologically, although identity is a dynamic and developing phenomenon, there are certain ‘recognisable characteristics that are common to all’ Anglicans.<sup>382</sup> He lists historical and cultural links, international structures and consultation procedures, and ‘the family resemblances of its liturgies.’<sup>383</sup> These, he argues, ‘create the necessary conditions for both a common spirit and a shared identity.’<sup>384</sup>

His most interesting definition of identity, however, comes at the end of the chapter. Even though throughout the chapter the focus has been on defining identity

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<sup>379</sup> Alister McGrath addressed this point, affirming that the new *via media* of Anglicanism should not follow the old dichotomy of a middle way between *catholic* and *protestant*, but a middle way between *fundamentalism* and *liberalism*. Cf. Alister McGrath, *The Renewal of Anglicanism* (London: SPCK, 1993), 103.

<sup>380</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 7.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*

primarily from sociological and psychological perspectives, at the end he turns to theology. Avis writes:

Christian identity – and derivatively Anglican identity – is not fixed and unchanging. Like personal and social identity it is fluid, dynamic, vulnerable. It cannot be created at will, it cannot be guaranteed, it does not need to be defended by ideology, it is not in the church's possession. The church's identity is eschatological. The identity of the church is a grace given to her by God and received dynamically as she beholds the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.<sup>385</sup>

Identity no longer refers to one's idea or perception of oneself (or one's group), but to the essence of who one is. The definition is not so much socio-psychological, but ontological. Furthermore, the reference to the eschaton adds a new dimension. Namely, that the true identity of the church will only be revealed and fulfilled in the future of God. In the meantime, the church is invited to receive this identity as a dynamic (and changing) gift or grace as it deepens in its relationship with God.

At the end of his book, Avis asserts that 'an authentic paradigm for Anglicanism,'<sup>386</sup> and for ecumenical dialogue, has to be rooted in the baptismal paradigm. This is the most fundamental identity shaper for any Christian church. Communion and inter-communion emerge from the shared common baptism.

Finally, two significant definitions of Anglican identity appear in his concluding chapter. First, he affirms that in the twentieth century, Anglican identity 'is paradoxically both macrocosmic and microcosmic.'<sup>387</sup> In other words, identity functions at two levels: micro (local/national) and macro (global/ international). The implications of this go beyond Avis' suggestion that Anglican identity is shaped by our ecumenical interaction with Christians from other churches. As this thesis seeks to prove, this is extended also to our interaction with Anglicans from other parts of the world, or from other theological traditions within a national church.

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<sup>385</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid. 300-311.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid. 302.

Secondly, Avis defines Anglicanism as ‘a liberal reformed Catholicism, marked by the principles of moderation, comprehensiveness and conservatism, with its dispersed source of authority acting as mutual checks and balances’.<sup>388</sup> For him, this affirmation of diversity is central to Anglican identity, and here he follows Sykes in asserting that this puts Anglicanism in a unique place, ecumenically, when it comes to resolving conflict and seeking common ground.

There is a third theologian who has addressed the issue of Anglican identity in a new and refreshing way. Oxford academic Martyn Percy has explored the notion of identity from biblical and theological perspectives in a number of books and essays. One of his most helpful definitions is found in *The Thirty Nine New Articles*. Here, his starting point is Jesus’ analogy of the vine and the branches. This metaphor offers, according to Percy, the best description of the Anglican Communion. ‘It suggests intra-dependence yet difference; unity and diversity; commonality yet independence; continuity and change; pruning yet fruitfulness.’<sup>389</sup> In other words, and here he echoes Maurician ecclesiology, this biblical image ‘sets up a correlation between particularity and catholicity.’<sup>390</sup>

His subsequent analysis of the current tensions in the Communion identifies the emphasis of freedom over interdependence as the key issue. That is, the freedom to assert local individuality and to be culturally, contextually and missiologically relevant. For Percy, this emphasis undermines the dimension of ‘a deeper catholicity.’<sup>391</sup> Issues such as sexuality become primary identity defining issues, rather than ‘secondary indicators of emphasis subjugated to an innate interconnectedness to the true vine.’<sup>392</sup> It would be possible to see here a reference to *adiaphora*.

Percy acknowledges that there ‘has not been a single century in which Anglicanism has not wrestled with its identity; by its nature it draws on a variety of competing theological traditions. Its appeal lies in its own distinctive hybridity.’<sup>393</sup> Hybridity, in this context, alludes to theological diversity, which has been considered a

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<sup>388</sup> Ibid. 310.

<sup>389</sup> Martyn Percy, *The Thirty Nine New Articles: an Anglican landscape of faith* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2013), 30.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid. 90.

source of Anglicanism's inner tensions and struggles. For Percy, however, the real source of division is not theology (e.g. being conservative or liberal), but rather a clash between two distinctive approaches to church polity: one royal (monarchical), the other republican (democratic).<sup>394</sup> According to him, this has its origin in the seventeenth century English Civil War, but the two models of church government have been increasingly polarized in the Anglican Communion in recent decades.

In the examples shown above, and in most of the contemporary works from other parts of the Communion, Anglican theologians have attempted to articulate identity holding together *koinonia* and alterity. Their focus has tended to be on the elements that are distinctly, uniquely or specifically Anglican, shared by all, or at least most, Anglicans. These definitions are all-encompassing and inclusive, as in Avis' 'liberal, reformed, catholic', or Douglas' 'apostolic catholicity within vernacular moments.' They acknowledge therefore difference and diversity (cultural, theological and ecclesiological). The alterity of specific groups or traditions is affirmed as something positive and enriching of the whole. The difficulty, however, lies in that whilst attempting to be inclusive of everyone, it is unable to resolve the problem of those who have exclusive attitudes toward others (negative alterity). This issue will be explored in chapter 9.

#### ***5.2.5. Identity redefined: Anglicanism and human sexuality***

At the heart of the current crisis within the Anglican Communion, as described in chapter 1, is the issue of human sexuality. To be more specific, the response of the church to partnered gay and lesbian clergy (including bishops), and to marriage equality.<sup>395</sup> The so-called 'gay issue', especially since the consecration of Bishop Gene Robinson in the USA in 2004, has become the central test of orthodoxy for some, and of inclusion for others. In that process, it has also become an identity-definer, in as much as orthodoxy or inclusivity are defined on the basis of a single issue. By implication, it has become the focal point of new ecclesial alignments within the Communion.

It is intriguing and fascinating that, at least on the surface, 21<sup>st</sup> century Anglican identity appears to be redefined, not by its new socio-cultural contexts or missiological

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<sup>394</sup> Cf. Ibid. 90-91.

<sup>395</sup> Also known as 'same sex marriage', marriage equality exists in North America, most of Western Europe, parts of Latin America, South Africa and New Zealand.

challenges, but by sex. Since the turn of the century, Western scholars in particular have wrestled with the question of how and why this single issue has mobilized so many clashing theological passions.<sup>396</sup> Caroline Hall, in *A Thorn in the Flesh*, asks ‘why is homosexuality such a big deal?’<sup>397</sup> Her answer is both sociological and psychological, and deeply connected with the issue of identity. For Hall, ‘the many overlapping social meanings that have been attached to it mean that, like communism in the past, “homosexuality” can be powerfully used as a symbol of all that is wrong, bad and to be feared.’<sup>398</sup>

She argues that conservative Christians’ use of homosexuality plays on both a human ‘deep longing for purity’ and ‘the morals of disgust.’<sup>399</sup> She also affirms that homosexuality as a symbol, has become a ‘boundary line’ in Anglican identity redefinition. It provides a boundary that defines alterity in negative terms. According to Hall:

In 2010, the GAFCON primates [...] declared that they could not sign the proposed Anglican Covenant, which would have provided a boundary for the Anglican Communion and which they themselves had championed, because the Covenant did not explicitly state that homosexual acts were contrary to scripture. Thus homosexuality was used as the absolute boundary line.<sup>400</sup>

Brittain and McKinnon, from the University of Aberdeen, have also concluded that homosexuality in the Anglican Communion has become a symbol ‘of a wider range of tensions and grievances within its member churches.’<sup>401</sup> According to these academics:

What seems to give the question of homosexuality its particular power is the way it has come to serve as a ‘condensational symbol,’ in Edelman’s (1988) terms [...].

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<sup>396</sup> Cf. Stephen Bates, *A Church at War: Anglicans and homosexuality* (London: Hodder and Staughton, 2005); and Miranda Hasset, *Anglican Communion in Crisis: how Episcopal dissidents and their African allies are reshaping Anglicanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

<sup>397</sup> Caroline J.A. Hall, *A Thorn in the Flesh: how gay sexuality is changing the Episcopal Church* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 25.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid. 26-29.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid. 30-31.

<sup>401</sup> Christopher C. Brittain and Andrew McKinnon, ‘Homosexuality and the Construction of “Anglican Orthodoxy”: the symbolic politics of the Anglican Communion’, *Sociology of Religion* 72.3 (2011), 352.

For Edelman, condensational symbols are distinct from ‘referential symbols’ (which point to concrete and transparent realities) because of their ability to evoke powerful emotions. Edelman argues that these symbolic constructions are essential for the definition of opponents and enemies, as well as for gathering and mobilizing allies.<sup>402</sup>

In the case of the Anglican Communion, the reformulation of identity on the basis of this symbol is deeply connected with the ecclesial realignments within the Communion. For Brittain and McKinnon the old identities defined by theology (e.g. anglo-catholic, liberal, evangelical) have been superseded in the recent crisis.<sup>403</sup> In turn, new alignments have been forged that have given birth to new identities. The new alignments, generally, have brought together conservatives from both ends of the ecclesiological spectrum (anglo-catholics and evangelicals) with different agendas. It has also highlighted new divisions within evangelical and anglo-catholic circles. In both camps a significant number of Anglicans are either pro-LGBT rights or believe it to be an adiaphora issue.<sup>404</sup>

The realignment in the Communion falls under two groups: the Global South and the Global North. These are defined as follows:

*Global South:* those predominantly conservative provinces which have aligned together to defend what they describe as ‘orthodox’ Anglicanism. Most of the churches of the Global South are also part of the Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans, and by extension of the GAFCON network.<sup>405</sup>

*Global North:* those provinces which are not aligned with the Global South. They often represent the full breadth of Anglican theological and ecclesiological diversity. Whilst the Global South is an actual name adopted by the conservative

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<sup>402</sup> Ibid. 356-357.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid. 359.

<sup>404</sup> This is documented by the research conducted by Brittain and McKinnon (above).

<sup>405</sup> They are the Anglican provinces/national churches of: Bangladesh, Burundi, Central Africa, Congo, Indian Ocean, Jerusalem and the Middle East, Kenya, Melanesia, Myanmar, Nigeria, North India, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Rwanda, South East Asia, Southern Africa, South India, Southern Cone of America, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, West Africa and West Indies.

provinces, the Global North does not exist as such. It is not a homogeneous or organised group with a particular agenda.<sup>406</sup>

In the construction of a new 'orthodox Anglican' identity, Global South leaders have sought to define Anglicanism confessionally. The Jerusalem Declaration, produced at the end of the first GAFCON gathering in 2008, articulates a particular view of orthodoxy by affirming fourteen points or boundary markers.<sup>407</sup> However, as pointed out by Brittain and McKinnon:

[R]ather than simply being the expression of self-evident Anglican Orthodoxy, this is a compromise document, an attempt to *create* Anglican Orthodoxy by means of compromise between conservative Evangelicals and conservative Anglo-Catholics, each of whom have historically emphasized different (and even contradictory) elements of the Anglican tradition.<sup>408</sup>

The Global South, however, have not only defined Anglican orthodoxy. In the process, and by extension, they have also defined un-orthodoxy based on the single issue of sexuality. They have constructed an artificial and imaginary identity for the Global North, which does not reflect the reality of its inner diversity. In addition, by inventing the identity of their opponents through negative categorization, their alterity turns them not into a *neighbour* they must learn to love, following Levinas' ethical approach to alterity, but into an *enemy* they must call to repent.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> The expression 'Global North', whilst not widely spread, has been used by scholars, such as Titus Presler (cf. Titus Presler, 'Old and new in worship and community: Culture's pressures in global Anglicanism', *ATR* 82.4 (2000), 709-723), and in official Anglican documents, such as 'The Panama Declaration (2005)'. Cf. [http://www.anglicancommunion.org/provincialnews/panamaen/client/news/client\\_news\\_detail.cfm?naid=600](http://www.anglicancommunion.org/provincialnews/panamaen/client/news/client_news_detail.cfm?naid=600) Accessed 15 October 2014.

<sup>407</sup> Cf. [http://gafcon.org/news/gafcon\\_final\\_statement/](http://gafcon.org/news/gafcon_final_statement/) Accessed 15 October 2014.

<sup>408</sup> Brittain and McKinnon, 'Homosexuality', 367.

<sup>409</sup> Cf. Jerusalem Declaration, 13. [http://gafcon.org/news/gafcon\\_final\\_statement/](http://gafcon.org/news/gafcon_final_statement/) Accessed 15 October 2014.

### 5.3. Authority and identity in the Anglican Communion

A key element in the development of Anglican identity has been the evolution of a particular form of church government and organization. As already noted, one of the consequences of exporting and adapting the Church of England to other parts of the world was a change in status. The church was no longer in the majority, culturally and demographically; and it could no longer set itself up as an established institution, depending on the Crown-in-Parliament, especially in ex-colonies like the United States. Anglican churches developed a form of government inspired by the English model of episcopal and clergy ‘convocations’, but inclusive also of lay people. This created a gradual shift from vertical to horizontal government, and from episcopocentric or collegiate to synodical. In the USA, as shown above, this was in the form of two democratically elected houses, within a national Convention. In other parts of the Communion, horizontal government was through national, provincial or general synods. In all cases, this form of church governance became a feature of Anglicanism, a positive defining element of its identity.

The term ‘authority’ in Anglicanism is used broadly in two different ways: theologically and ecclesiologically. At one level, it serves to define the authoritative elements involved in theological reflection. In the Hookerian tradition these are: the Scriptures, tradition and reason. As seen above, different traditions within Anglicanism have placed a particular emphasis on one of these against the others, and in the last century, the voice of experience has become a widely accepted element in this hermeneutical paradigm. Thomas even suggests that the notion of ‘comprehensiveness’ in Anglicanism, explored above, has to ‘be understood as an aspect of religious authority, not an alternative to it.’<sup>410</sup> In other words, the comprehensiveness of several theological views in conversation acts as an authoritative framework for Anglican theological thought and ecclesial coexistence. This aspect of authority is about ‘ideas’, and it might be described as ‘theological authority.’

At another level, authority is used in connection with the ecclesial structures that exercise governance and oversight in the church. Here, authority has to do with people in different ministries and with different leadership responsibilities. For example, in the

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<sup>410</sup> Thomas, ‘Lambeth Conferences’, 144.



context of the local (parish) church, authority for decision making is placed, not on the rector or minister, but on the elected local church council.<sup>411</sup> Authority in this context is not about ideas or theology, but about people, and it responds to the question: who is in charge? This is the aspect of authority I am concerned with here: one that is also deeply intertwined with the issue of power and how power is exercised. However, both theological and ecclesial aspects of authority often go hand in hand, and it is difficult and unreasonable to impose upon it too forced a distinction.

In the development of the Anglican Communion, and through successive Lambeth Conferences, the question of who is in charge has been a recurring one. From the confused initial state, when the authority of the civil powers clashed with that of metropolitan bishops, to the development of provincial autonomy, the quest for clear boundaries of authority and responsibility has been central to Anglicanism. Equally central has been the assertion of freedom and independence by the different provinces in the Communion.

The quest for authority in global Anglicanism was voiced in the 1978 Lambeth Conference by the then archbishop of Canterbury, Donald Coggan. Lord Coggan, addressing the bishops at the end of the Conference said:

Brothers, I think that many of you have been feeling during our last two weeks that a word needs to be said about the complex and difficult subject of authority in our Anglican Communion ... We have been searching somewhat uneasily to find out where the centre of that authority is.<sup>412</sup>

### ***5.3.1. Dispersed authority***

The centre of authority in Anglicanism has proven to be somewhat elusive. In fact, ecclesiologically it is fair to say that there is no centre, certainly no structural centre, but that authority is dispersed. In 1930, the Lambeth Conference reasserted the nature of unity and authority in the Communion. Anglicans worldwide 'are bound together not by a

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<sup>411</sup> This council receives different names in the Anglican Communion. For instance, in the Church of England it is known as 'Parish Church Council' (PCC), whereas in the Scottish Episcopal Church and TEC, it is called 'Vestry'.

<sup>412</sup> Quoted by: Thomas, 'Lambeth Conferences', 152.

central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the bishops in conference.’<sup>413</sup> In other words, unity is not sustained by a central authority, but through mutual communion and by bonds of affection. Authority is not centralized but dispersed, both geographically, in its provinces and national churches, and theologically, through a range of authoritative elements in conversation. This issue was raised and addressed in the 1948 Lambeth Conference.

The question is asked, ‘Is Anglicanism based on a sufficiently coherent form of authority to form the nucleus of a world-wide fellowship of Churches, or does its comprehensiveness conceal internal divisions which may cause its disruption?’ Former Lambeth Conferences have wisely rejected proposals for a formal primacy of Canterbury, for an Appellate Tribunal, and for giving the Conference the status of a legislative synod. The Lambeth Conference remains *advisory*, and its continuation committee *consultative*. These decisions have led to a repudiation of centralized government, and a refusal of a legal basis of union. The positive nature of the authority which binds the Anglican Communion together is therefore seen to be *moral* and *spiritual*, resting on the truth of the Gospel, and on a charity which is patient and willing to defer to the common mind.<sup>414</sup>

The last statement in this paragraph is significant. It sums up the type of ‘positive authority’ at the heart of Anglicanism: one that is ‘moral and spiritual’. That is, a form of authority that is based both on a *shared belief* centred on the gospel; and on a *shared attitude* based on the central evangelical law of love and generosity of spirit. In practice, this gospel attitude is demonstrated through a willingness to wait patiently as Anglican bishops seek unity and to be willing to postpone decision making until agreement is found. The backdrop of this concern for deferring important decisions (i.e. changes) until a unanimous agreement has been reached, was the ordination of the first woman priest in the Anglican Communion, in China in 1944. The then bishop of Hong Kong, R.O. Hall, made an unprecedented decision ordaining to the priesthood a deaconess, Lei Tim-Oi. He

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<sup>413</sup> LC 1930. Resolution 49.c. In: [http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/\\_1930/1930-49.cfm](http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/_1930/1930-49.cfm) Accessed 17 October 2014.

<sup>414</sup> ‘The Meaning and Unity of the Anglican Communion’ in *The Lambeth Conference, 1948, Part II: Report of Committees* (London: SPCK, 1948), 84. My italics.

had already given her permission to celebrate the Lord's Supper in 1943. In January 1944, he decided he could no longer wait to obtain permission from the archbishop of Canterbury or the Lambeth Conference, which would not meet for another four years. The urgency to offer pastoral and sacramental oversight to the Macao congregation during the unsettling context of the Second World War, led Bishop Hall to ordain Tim-Oi as priest. Hall described his decision as a pragmatic one. His 'reason was not theoretical views of the equality of men and women but the needs of my people for the sacraments – and the manifest gift of the personal charisma' of Lei Tim-Oi.<sup>415</sup>

The tension between 'patient waiting' and 'urgency' in making contextual changes within the Communion has continued to play a crucial role in the life of the global church. 'Patient waiting' has been advocated in controversial or potentially divisive issues, as a way to bring others on board and to avoid internal schisms. 'Urgency' has been affirmed by those who regard change an unavoidable missional call within their cultural contexts. In both cases it only serves to highlight the limitations of a dispersed model of authority when dealing with innovation and new 'vernacular moments' in different contexts.

### ***5.3.2. The 'instruments of communion'***

In recent decades, the Anglican Communion has expressed their unique form of dispersed authority, through four visible 'instruments of communion': the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lambeth Conferences, the Primates' Meetings, and the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC). These deserve a brief mention.

(a) The *Archbishop of Canterbury*, as primate of all England, is also *primus inter pares* amongst English bishops and bishops in the Anglican Communion. Since the rise of diocesan and national synodical government in individual provinces, his authority has taken a moral and symbolic nature. He offers spiritual leadership collegially and in conversation, respecting the autonomy of national churches. In this context, according to the ACC, the archbishop of Canterbury should be viewed as a 'focus of unity.'<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> Quoted in Sachs, *Transformation*, 301.

<sup>416</sup> Cf. <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/communion/abc/> Accessed 17 October 2014.

Historically, in addition, communion with the see of Canterbury has been regarded as a defining characteristic of Anglicanism. It has highlighted the relational dimension of the Communion members with their mother church. However, this tie with Canterbury has been challenged in recent years by some of the Global South churches. The Church of Nigeria, for example, in 2005, removed from its constitution all references to its communion ‘with the See of Canterbury and with all the dioceses, provinces and regional churches which are in communion with the See of Canterbury.’<sup>417</sup> A similar change was passed by the diocese of Sydney, without debate. It is less clear, therefore, what the role of the archbishop of Canterbury, and indeed the see of Canterbury, is in the light of the recent realignments.

(b) The **Lambeth Conferences**, as shown above, played a formational role in the development of the Anglican Communion. They are the main forum in which bishops gather to reflect on the ministry and mission of the church, as well as to pray, worship and converse. The Conferences, despite acting as a global *college of bishops*, have no real authority, nor are their resolutions legally binding. Rather, they are an expression of the ‘common mind’ of the majority of bishops gathered at a given time, and their resolutions a series of recommendations offered to the provinces and dioceses for reception.

After the consecration of Gene Robinson as bishop, and despite the fact that he was not invited to attend the 2008 Lambeth Conference, many bishops from the Global South decided to boycott the Conference. At the end, 670 bishops, out of a total of about 800, took part in the Conference.<sup>418</sup> Those who did not attend included the then archbishop of Sydney, Peter Jensen, and a significant number of African bishops.

(c) The **Primates’ Meetings** were established by Donald Coggan in 1978 as an opportunity for ‘leisurely thought, prayer and deep consultation.’<sup>419</sup> Since then, the heads of Anglican ecclesiastical provinces have met to reflect on global and local issues, to offer guidance to the wider Communion and to have fellowship with each other. The 1988 Lambeth Conference encouraged the Primates’ Meeting to adopt a more collegial

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<sup>417</sup> Cf. Marites N. Sison, ‘Who’s Anglican and who’s not? “Ties with Canterbury are Historic”’, *Anglican Journal* 132.1 (2006), 13.

<sup>418</sup> Cf. <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/pages/lambeth-conference.html> Accessed 17 October 2014.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/communion/primates/> Accessed 17 October 2014.

approach, so that they can ‘exercise an enhanced responsibility in offering guidance on doctrinal, moral and pastoral matters.’<sup>420</sup> This recommendation, however, fell short of investing these meetings with any concrete power or authority. In fact, in the same resolution, while affirming the desire for the ‘growth of inter-dependence within the Communion,’<sup>421</sup> the bishops assert that they ‘do not see any inter-Anglican jurisdiction as possible or desirable,’<sup>422</sup> and that ‘an inter-Anglican synodical structure would be virtually unworkable and highly expensive.’<sup>423</sup>

(d) The *Anglican Consultative Council* (ACC) is the only non-exclusively episcopal body of the Communion and therefore deserves special attention. As early as 1897, the bishops gathered at Lambeth identified the need for a ‘consultative body’ that could serve the Conference by offering information and advice.<sup>424</sup> A central ‘Consultative Body’ was created in 1901 and its functions ratified at the 1908 Lambeth Conference.<sup>425</sup> In the 1920 Lambeth Conference the bishops felt the need to clarify the role and status of this body:

In order to prevent misapprehension the Conference declares that the Consultative Body, created by the Lambeth Conference of 1897 and consolidated by the Conference of 1908, is a purely advisory body. It is of the nature of a continuation committee of the whole Conference and neither possesses nor claims any executive or administrative power.<sup>426</sup>

Like the Lambeth Conferences themselves, the Consultative Body had no authority and no power. After the Second World War, Anglican bishops recognized the need to coordinate inter-Anglican relations further. The result was the creation of an Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy in 1948, which operated alongside the Consultative

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<sup>420</sup> Cf. <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1988/1988-18.cfm> Accessed 17 October 2014.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

<sup>424</sup> Cf. LC 1897. Resolution 5, in <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1897/1897-5.cfm> Accessed 17 October 2014.

<sup>425</sup> Cf. LC 1908. Resolutions 54, 55, 56, in <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/downloads/1908.pdf> Accessed 17 October 2014.

<sup>426</sup> LC 1920. Resolution 44, in <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1920/1920-44.cfm> Accessed 17 October 2014. This was reasserted in the 1930 Lambeth Conference, resolution 50.

Body.<sup>427</sup> Two decades later, in 1968, these two bodies effectively joined under the umbrella of the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC). The new council, although holding no real power or authority, was established following a synodical model, with bishops, clergy and laity representing the different national churches. The ACC was initially entrusted with the following functions:

- (a) 'To share information' and serve 'as an instrument of common action.'
- (b) 'To advise on inter-Anglican, provincial, and diocesan relationships.'
- (c) To develop 'agreed Anglican policies' and encourage national churches to share 'their resources of manpower, money, and experience.'
- (d) To act as an ecumenical resource and agent, cooperating with other Christian Churches, with the World Council of Churches, and encouraging theological ecumenical dialogue.
- (e) 'To keep in review the needs that may arise for further study and, where necessary, to promote inquiry and research.'<sup>428</sup>

The ACC is the closest body to an international Anglican synod. Given that the other three instruments of unity are formed by bishops, the ACC is also the only forum that brings a sense of counter balance to the largely episcopocentric global Anglican structures. Within its constraints and limitations, the ACC has continued to serve the Communion with varying degrees of success. Whereas most of its original functions were connected with ecumenical work, in recent decades the Anglican Consultative Council has focused most of its energy on internal matters. This is particularly true of the fourteenth ACC meeting in 2009, and the fifteenth meeting of 2012, when the council had to deal extensively with the Anglican Covenant drafts and responses.

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<sup>427</sup> Cf. LC 1948. Resolution 80, in [http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/\\_/1948/1948-80.cfm](http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/_/1948/1948-80.cfm) Accessed 17 October 2014.

<sup>428</sup> LC 1968. Resolution 69, in [http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1968/\\_/1968-69.cfm](http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1968/_/1968-69.cfm) Accessed 17 October 2014.

### 5.3.3. *Independence or interdependence?*

In broad terms, and at the risk of oversimplification, it is possible to observe a shift of emphasis from independence to interdependence in the short history of the Anglican Communion. In the early decades, from the 1870s until the 1950s, the focus was on the autonomy and independence of national churches to run their own life and internal affairs. This was consistent with the parallel events of the independence of former British colonies and the move toward a postcolonial reality. In fact, by the 1950s the archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, ahead of the independence of African nations proactively pursued the consecration of African bishops and the creation of new autonomous provinces in Africa.<sup>429</sup>

The shift to interdependence began in the 1960s as the result of the new challenges and opportunities brought about by the relationship between old and new provinces in the context of mission. In 1963, the Toronto Congress on mission gathered Anglicans from around the world to explore issues of ‘mutual responsibility and interdependence in the Body of Christ.’ The Congress asked national and provincial churches to re-engage with the *missio Dei* in new ways. Partly, by seeing the relationship between rich and poor Churches, not from the perspective of ‘givers’ and ‘receivers’, but through the perspective of mutuality, recognising each other’s need of the other, as well as each other’s ability to give something to the other. It also encouraged national churches to reassess their own resources – financial and human – in the light of mission. Churches were urged to rethink their use of resources, terminating obsolete and unfruitful programmes or institutions, and reprioritising the investment of economic capital and the deployment of human resources. Mission was understood in the document to include church planting and church building, but also theological and ministerial formation and education. The concluding words of the final document summarize the hope of the participants:

In substance, what we are really asking is the rebirth of the Anglican Communion, which means the death of many old things but – infinitely more – the birth of

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<sup>429</sup> Cf. Sachs, *Transformation*, 315.

entirely new relationships. We regard this as the essential task before the churches of the Anglican Communion now.<sup>430</sup>

This statement on mission and communion was crucial in the development of structural changes in the Anglican Communion, from the formation of the ACC to the creation of the Partners in Mission schemes.<sup>431</sup> It was also a turning point in pan-Anglican conversations, where the shift toward interdependence was formerly articulated.

The notion of mutual responsibility and interdependence (MRI) has taken central stage in the recent controversy over issues of human sexuality. As we shall see in successive chapters, an appeal to MRI has been made in three important documents: the Virginia Report (1997), the Windsor Report (2004) and the Anglican Covenant (2009). In these official reports interdependence has been reaffirmed, not solely in the light of sharing resource in a mission context, as originally defined by MRI, but as a synonym of mutual accountability in the context of new changes of discipline or doctrine in the Communion.<sup>432</sup>

The Virginia Report was the first one to use the notion of interdependence to describe the Anglican understanding of communion. The authors of the report rooted this concept, theologically, on the twofold vision of unity and interdependence found in baptism. Following the Pauline metaphor of the body with many parts, baptism acts as a symbol both of unity (being united to Christ and others) and interdependence (co-dependence on God and on other members of the body of Christ, the Church). The

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<sup>430</sup> 'Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ,' Toronto Anglican Congress, 1963. Transcribed by the Right Reverend Dr. Terry Brown, Retired Bishop of Malaita, 2009. Published online: [http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/toronto\\_mutual1963.html](http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/toronto_mutual1963.html) Accessed 20 October 2014.

<sup>431</sup> According to the Mission Issues and Strategy Advisory Group, 'Partners in Mission is a continuing process by which the Churches of the Communion contribute to each other's local mission. It assists Churches in sharpening their mission priorities and setting goals. They can share with others from their resources such as experience of poverty and weakness, acting for justice, spirituality and prayer, friendship, enthusiasm, patterns of development, liturgy, dance and song, people and money. They can receive from the resources of others. In so doing all participate in God's mission in the world.' In [www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/mission/resources/guidelines/partnership10.cfm#sthash.QNv4MOZY.dpuf](http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/mission/resources/guidelines/partnership10.cfm#sthash.QNv4MOZY.dpuf) Accessed 17 October 2014.

<sup>432</sup> Cf. The Virginia Report (1997), in <http://www.lambethconference.org/1998/documents/report-1.pdf> Accessed 17 October 2014. Especially chapter 3, where the authors describe five elements as bonds of interdependence: (1) the conversation between Scripture, Tradition and Reason, (2) the role of the *lex orandi* in sacrament and worship, (3) charisms in the life of the church, (4) episcopal collegiality and synodical government, and (5) structures of interdependence, which are the instruments of communion explored above.



Virginia Report, however, did not ignore the tensions between autonomy and interdependence in the life of the Anglican Communion:

In the development of the Anglican Communion there is no legislative authority above the Provincial level. There has been an insistence upon the autonomy of the Provinces of the Anglican Communion. However, while autonomy entails the legal and juridical right of each Province to govern its way of life, in practice autonomy has never been the sole criterion for understanding the relation of Provinces to one another. There has generally been an implicit understanding of belonging together and interdependence. The life of the Communion is held together in the creative tension of Provincial autonomy and interdependence.<sup>433</sup>

Despite the recognition of this ‘creative tension’, the document as a whole, and this has deeply influenced other future statements and official documents, including the Covenant, places a disproportionate emphasis on interdependence. Autonomy becomes, in this and other reports, almost a subsidiary element of interdependence. Communion is thus redefined on the basis of a stricter type of accountability that has proved to be both unsustainable and unworkable, not to mention a threat to Anglican diversity.

In many ways, one can identify a clear shift from the late 1990s in the way that the Anglican Communion has talked about its inner life and relationships. There has been a move from defining communion sacramentally (based on our communion with Christ) and liturgically (based on the *lex orandi*), to a definition that places a greater emphasis on structural unity and accountability. This is advocated by conservative leaders from the Global South, like Goodhew and Sinclair, who would like to see a stronger Primates’ Meeting at the centre of the Communion’s authoritative structures.<sup>434</sup> For them, the Primates’ Meeting should be invested with authority to define ‘the limits of Anglican diversity.’<sup>435</sup> This shift to a more vertical (episcopocentric) approach to global authority, would change worldwide Anglicanism beyond recognition. It would also move the

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<sup>433</sup> The Virginia Report, 3.28.

<sup>434</sup> Harry Goodhew and Maurice Sinclair, *Way of Faithfulness: A report on a visit to the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. and a considered proposal to address current controversies in the Anglican Communion* (Carollton, Texas: The Ekklesia Society, 1999), 75-76. Quoted in: Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 34.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

Communion toward a type of *curialization* alien to Anglican ecclesiology.<sup>436</sup> Despite the attempts by conservatives to enhance the authority of the Primates' Meetings in this direction, their role as an instrument of unity continues to hold a moral, rather than curial, form of authority.

Other Anglicans, like David Hamid, have also supported the need for a global 'binding authority' in the Communion.<sup>437</sup> Hamid, however, believes that such authority should be placed in the ACC. This, for him, would ensure that global Anglicanism is governed in a horizontal, synodical manner, reflecting the existing diocesan and provincial structures.

Finally, Martyn Percy has offered a new vision for global Anglicanism that affirms independence and redefines interdependence. This future vision involves the gentle extinguishing of the Anglican Communion as we know it, in his own words, 'dropping the chimera of communion,' and affirming a new identity based on a new relationship, becoming 'more like a family of churches.'<sup>438</sup> This would enable all Anglicans to continue to call themselves Anglicans, maintaining their integrity as national and local churches, yet redefining the rules of coexistence.

#### **5.4. The Communion in figures: demographic, geographic and other considerations**

In 2005, the Global South held a meeting in Egypt, a year after the consecration of bishop Gene Robinson. The opening words of their press communiqué affirmed that:

A total of 103 delegates of 20 provinces in the Global South (comprising Africa, South and South East Asia, West Indies and South America), representing approximately two-thirds of the Anglican Communion, met for the 3rd Global South to South Encounter.<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> Cf. Michael Doe, 'From Colonialism to Communion', *JAS* 7.2 (2009), 219-220; and Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 34-35.

<sup>437</sup> Cf. David Hamid, 'The Nature and Shape of the Contemporary Anglican Communion', in Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 94.

<sup>438</sup> Percy, 39 *New Articles*, 95.

<sup>439</sup> [http://www.globalsouthanglican.org/index.php/blog/comments/third\\_trumpet\\_communique\\_from\\_3rd\\_south\\_to\\_south\\_encounter](http://www.globalsouthanglican.org/index.php/blog/comments/third_trumpet_communique_from_3rd_south_to_south_encounter) Accessed 5 May 2014.

A significant feature in this statement was its reference to their numeric strength, a recurring feature in their communications.<sup>440</sup> Five years later, at the GSE4 gathering, held in Singapore, the reference to numeric significance took a new and bolder dimension. The second paragraph of the communiqué affirmed:

Grateful for the gracious guidance of the Holy Spirit a total of 130 delegates from 20 provinces in the Global South (Comprising Africa, West Indies, Asia and South America) gathered together. We represented the *vast majority* of the *active membership* of the Anglican Communion.<sup>441</sup>

This statement is significant for at least three reasons. First, because it lists South America as a homogeneous unit, ignoring the fact that the numerically largest South American Anglican province, Brazil, is not part of the Global South. Secondly, because it no longer affirms that they represent a percentage of the Communion, but rather ‘the vast majority.’ And thirdly, because it makes a reference to ‘active membership’ of the Anglican Communion, in contrast with ‘nominal’ Anglicans. This latter point was directed toward the Church of England, which claims a membership of 26 million Anglicans, about a third of the Communion. The 2013 Nairobi Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON), opened its communiqué with a similar reference to numbers:

We, the participants in the second Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON) – 1,358 delegates, including 331 bishops, 482 other clergy and 545 laity from 38 countries representing tens of millions of faithful Anglicans worldwide – send you greetings from East Africa, a place of revival in the last century and of growth in the Anglican Church today.<sup>442</sup>

Here, in addition to a reference to numeric strength, there is a reference to current numeric growth. The message is clear: Global South Anglicans represent not just the

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<sup>440</sup> See the communiqués of: 1994 GSE1 Limuro-Kenya Statement; 1997 GSE2 Kuala-Lumpur Statement; 2013 GAFCON Nairobi Conference. In: [www.globalsouthanglican.org](http://www.globalsouthanglican.org)

<sup>441</sup> <http://www.globalsouthanglican.org/index.php/blog/comments/fourth-trumpet-from-the-fourth-anglican-global-south-to-south-encounter> Accessed 5 May 2014. My italics.

<sup>442</sup> <http://gafcon.org/news/nairobi-communique-and-commitment> Accessed 5 May 2014.

majority of Anglicans in the world, but the *growing* churches of the Communion. These two elements, connected with numbers, have become a central part of conservative Anglican discourse. One of the implications of this emphasis is that the demographic shift from North to South mirrors a corresponding power shift within the Communion.

This focus on numbers has another dimension. There is a widespread interest, especially amongst some conservative American and British Anglicans, to try and offer an alternative reading of the Anglican Communion membership.<sup>443</sup> In this alternative reading, the official CofE figures are dismissed as overinflated, the membership numbers offered by other putative liberal churches (like TEC or Brazil) are questioned, and the rest of the figures from the Anglican Communion, especially those from Africa, are accepted uncritically and unquestioningly. The figures resulting from their ‘recounting’ of the Anglican Communion deserves no serious attention. They are neither methodologically consistent nor statistically and academically rigorous. The significant thing here is that numbers are used, at least on a global scale, as a key element in identity definition.<sup>444</sup> One might argue that numbers take a more prominent role than theology or even ecclesiology. In this rhetoric, numeric growth becomes a measurable scale of success for self-identified ‘orthodox Anglicans’ that, in turn, serves to reinforce and to validate their views.

#### ***5.4.1. How many Anglicans or the myth of numbers***

It seems that one cannot paint an accurate and up-to-date picture of the Anglican Communion without a reference to numbers. According to official Anglican Communion figures the estimated number of Anglicans in the world today is about 80 million.<sup>445</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> See the recounting of the Anglican Communion by members of the Anglican Church of North America: <http://diocny.blogspot.co.uk/2007/07/membership-of-anglican-communion.html>; the American Episcopal splinter diocese of Fort Worth: <http://www.fwepiscopal.org/downloads/howmanyanglicans.pdf>; and the English conservative group Church Society: [http://churchsociety.org/issues\\_new/communion/iss\\_communion\\_howbig.asp](http://churchsociety.org/issues_new/communion/iss_communion_howbig.asp) Accessed 5 May 2014.

<sup>444</sup> In other geographical contexts, like North America, where conservative Anglicans are in the minority, the identity is defined around being a ‘moral minority’ or a ‘persecuted minority’. For instance, Geoff Chapman, an American Anglican Council priest affirmed: ‘We ask for a new jurisdiction on American soil, under the temporary oversight of an overseas province. We believe that such a jurisdiction would provide the best hope for supporting those who are being persecuted for biblical faith and values...’ Quoted by Hassett, *Anglican Communion in Crisis*, 103.

<sup>445</sup> Cf. Peter Brierly, *Painting by numbers: an introduction to church statistics* (London: Christian Research, 2005), 221.

However, this figure needs to be qualified. The actual number of Anglicans is extremely difficult to know for a number of reasons. There are problems in accessing the data, in the reliability of the figures and in the sources. For instance, the Anglican Communion Office only has up-to-date statistical information from six of the thirty-eight provinces.<sup>446</sup> And the membership details in official provincial websites are patchy.

In addition to the difficulties raised above, there are more complex issues to do with how Anglicans count their membership and who gets counted. Whereas in the Roman Catholic Church, membership is consistently counted by the numbers of baptized members, Anglicans around the world, as David Hamid points out, ‘do not even have a common understanding of what constitutes membership.’<sup>447</sup> For some it is baptism or confirmation, for others, as in North America, it is communicants in good standing or being registered in the parish electoral rolls. In Africa, membership is often connected with tribal affiliation.<sup>448</sup>

The other difficult question is ‘who gets counted’. Of the thirty eight Anglican Communion provinces, four are ‘United Churches’. That is, ecumenical provinces in which different Protestant denominations, including Anglicans, joined together to become a single or united church. This is the case of the United Churches of South India, North India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, which together have an estimated joint membership of over 4 million. Anglicans tend to include these 4 million in their figures; however, these churches are also affiliated to other international bodies, such as the World Methodist Council and the World Communion of Reformed Churches. The overt danger here of double, or even triple counting, is obvious.<sup>449</sup>

Finally, as pointed out above, there is the issue of a new, broadly accepted, and generally unquestioned narrative of global growth/decline.<sup>450</sup> This narrative tells a story

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<sup>446</sup> The following provinces are listed with membership information: The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand & Polynesia; The Anglican Church of Australia; The Anglican Church of Burundi; The Church of the Province of Central Africa; The Church of the Province of the Indian Ocean; and The Episcopal Church (USA).

<sup>447</sup> Hamid, ‘Nature and Shape’, 73.

<sup>448</sup> Benjamin Shikwati, Director of Programs, Africa Institute for Contemporary Missions and Research (AICMAR), in a 2014 article on the Anglican Church of Kenya, affirms that the Church “has unfortunately become a typical example of tribal alignments”. Cf. [http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazine/article\\_print.php?article=4341](http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazine/article_print.php?article=4341) Accessed 10 May 2014.

<sup>449</sup> Cf. Hamid, ‘Nature and Shape’, 75.

<sup>450</sup> Cf. Steve Bruce, *God is dead: secularization in the West* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism: a very short introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 9; and Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: the coming of global Christianity* (New York: OUP, 2007), 235-250.

of Anglicanism's success being largely due to its growth in developing, post-colonial nations. According to this story, Anglicans in Africa, Asia, and to a lesser extent Latin America, have experienced dramatic growth over the last few decades. A growth that, according to the narrators, is ongoing and unstoppable. At the same time, first-world, mostly post-modern nations have seen a steep decline in church membership and attendance. There has therefore been a shift of perceived 'presence', that is, a shift in the number of Anglicans present in each part of the world. This, in turn, has led to questions of who defines identity, how identity is defined and who decides who is Anglican and who is not.<sup>451</sup> The implications of this narrative for contemporary Anglican identity are clear. This perceived shift of presence has naturally led to a shift of power in the Communion, from the historic Anglo-Saxon 'founding members' present at the first Lambeth Conference in 1867, to the new putative majority of current members from the Global South. In to this narrative, numbers play a key role as identity shapers, and give Global South members a new moral authority in the Communion. Michael Doe warned about the challenges posed by this postcolonial dynamic when he affirmed that:

There is a disturbing tone in some of the statements from churches [from the Global South], which, partly because they are growing at a time when religion in the North may be more in decline, claim some superior authority to truth and to leadership of the Communion.<sup>452</sup>

For every narrative, however, there is a counter-narrative. The counter-narrative I propose here is based on research into the membership of the Anglican Communion carried out as part of this thesis. This counter-narrative accepts the overall story, but it qualifies it. It says that whilst it is true that most of the growth of recent decades has taken place in parts of Africa and Asia, there is anecdotal evidence that this growth has reached a plateau and in some cases has turned into decline in certain parts of Africa.

In the case of Kenya, a recent survey on church attendance in the country has shown that the trend amongst Protestant churches is of a steady decline, especially

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<sup>451</sup> Cf. Sison, 'Who is Anglican'.

<sup>452</sup> Doe, 'From Colonialism', 219.

amongst young people (under 24).<sup>453</sup> The survey had the remit to ‘establish the number, size and location of existing Protestant churches in Kenya’<sup>454</sup>, including Anglicans. The findings showed that while in the capital city, Nairobi, the average church attendance was of 16% of the self-identified Protestant population, the national average was only 7%.

In Uganda, too, the national trend amongst Anglican churches seems to be one of decline, rather than growth. This was pointed out by Archbishop Orombi at his installation as archbishop of the province of Uganda in 2004. Then he recognized that one of the challenges facing Ugandan Anglicans was ‘the loss of spiritual direction.’<sup>455</sup> For Orombi, amongst the signs of this loss of direction were that ‘many of our Christians have gone away from practical Christianity,’ and that there has been a growth in ‘church attendance by convenience, i.e. Christmas, Easter, Funerals, Weddings only.’<sup>456</sup> This is also echoed by the bishop of the diocese of West Buganda, who affirmed that ‘[c]urrently the population of the Diocese is over 2 million people, of whom about 35% are baptized Anglicans. The sprouting Pentecostal churches, however, have greatly encroached on our congregational numbers.’<sup>457</sup> This reference is particularly interesting for it explains decline, not on the basis of social change, but of inter-denominational competition.

The other part of this narrative comes from the West. Whilst it is true that Anglican churches in Western nations have experienced a steady decline during the second half of the twentieth century, there are signs that this trend may have changed in the first decade of the twenty first century. Decline has slowed down significantly and in some cases, like England, it has reached a plateau in the last decade. According to research commissioned by the Archbishops’ Council, 73% of churches in England have either remained stable or grown in the decade leading to 2010, with 27% of churches declining.<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Cf. ‘The Unfinished Task, A National Survey of Churches in Kenya’ (ACM FTT Afriserve, 2004).

<sup>454</sup> <http://www.religionnewsblog.com/9537/godless-young-generation-worries-kenyan-churches> Accessed 5 August 2014.

<sup>455</sup> Archbishop’s charge at his enthronement in 2004. See: <http://churchofuganda.org/news/archbishop/archbishops-charge-at-his-enthronement-2004> Accessed 5 August 2014.

<sup>456</sup> Ibid.

<sup>457</sup> <http://westbugandadiocese.org/pages/population.html> Accessed 30 May 2014.

<sup>458</sup> Cf. ‘From Anecdote to Evidence: Findings from the Church Growth Research Programme 2011-2013’, (London: Church Commissioners for England, 2014), 13. Available at: [www.churchgrowthresearch.org.uk](http://www.churchgrowthresearch.org.uk) Accessed 17 June 2015.

Despite the above, the more fundamental question remains unanswered: how many Anglicans are there in the world today? Apart from the official figure of 80 million, which remains largely unchallenged, very few people have offered alternative numbers. In 1997, Peter Brierly offered a figure of just over 53 million Anglicans, at a time when the widely accepted membership of the Communion was thought to be 70 million.<sup>459</sup> David Hamid in 2001 concluded that there were about 76 million Anglicans worldwide.<sup>460</sup> In both cases the methodology employed for data gathering does not differentiate between methods of counting in the official figures. The end results are always mixed, and give an inconsistent view of the membership of the Communion.

The research carried out as part of this thesis, published in the article ‘North to South’,<sup>461</sup> aims to offer an updated estimate of the membership of worldwide Anglicanism, based on a fundamental distinction between two types of membership: outer and inner circles. I follow here Peter Brierly, the leading statistician of the British organization Christian Research. Brierly’s distinction between ‘outer circle’ and ‘inner circle’ membership is a helpful way to analyse the current demographics of the Anglican Communion.<sup>462</sup> The two types of membership are defined as follows:

- *Outer circle membership*: those who identify themselves as Anglican, either through national census or general affiliation. This group includes both those who are active church members and those who are not actively involved in their local churches.
- *Inner circle membership*: those who are active church members. Brierly distinguishes between two distinct yet overlapping inner circles: one formed by those who are church *members* and one representing church *attendees*.<sup>463</sup> For clarity and simplicity, I have merged these two into one single inner circle group

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<sup>459</sup> Cf. Peter Brierly, *The World Churches handbook* (London: Christian Research, 1997).

<sup>460</sup> Cf. Hamid, ‘Nature and Shape’, 81.

<sup>461</sup> Cf. Muñoz, ‘North to South’.

<sup>462</sup> Cf. Brierly, *Painting by numbers*, 22.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.* 29.



that includes both membership criteria: regular church attendance,<sup>464</sup> that is, not those who only attend occasional offices (e.g. baptisms, weddings and funerals), and/or ‘high days’ (e.g. Christmas and Easter); and registration in a local church electoral role.<sup>465</sup>

The research has therefore tried to disentangle the mixed methods of counting across the Communion, by homogenising the data into these two measurable categories. To my knowledge this is the first attempt to organize the data following this approach. The results paint two very different pictures with multi-layered implications.<sup>466</sup>

*(a) General outer and inner circle membership figures*

Table 1 (below) summarizes the estimated inner and outer circle membership figures in the Anglican Communion drawn from this research. For outer circle statistics, the official figures given by each national/provincial church have been assumed as correct, except in those cases where these figures are different from those provided by government census bureaux. In such cases, the higher of the two has been adopted. For inner circle estimates, the criteria used is as follows: (a) official figures provided by national/provincial churches; and (b) projections based on outer circle figures and percentage estimates of average church attendance drawn from the research. In some cases, when the only available figure is inner circle, the same figure is used for the outer circle.

The first observation from the data in Table 1 is that the inner circle constitutes around 11% of the outer circle membership. In other words, about one in ten Anglicans is an active member in their local church. What follows is an analysis of the data per continent, per culture and per alignment.

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<sup>464</sup> What constitutes ‘regular church attendance’ varies from church to church. In some churches, like the Church of Nigeria, this notion is not defined. In the Church of England, it refers to those attending at least ‘once a month’. I have taken here each national church’s definition of ‘regular attendance’ at face value. Likewise, within this criterion, I have included TEC’s classification of ‘communicants in good standing’.

<sup>465</sup> The following provinces use this membership criterion: Canada, Wales and West Indies.

<sup>466</sup> For a detailed exposition of research methodology, see Muñoz, ‘North to South’, 8-17.

Table 1. Summary of Anglican Communion inner and outer circle membership<sup>467</sup>

<b>Province/National Church</b>	<b>Inner Circle</b>	<b>Outer Circle</b>
Aotearoa, New Zealand & Polynesia	220.659	459.711
Australia	437.880	4.865.328
Brasil	45.000	120.000
Burundi	36.125	425.000
Canada	545.957	1.447.080
Central Africa	51.000	600.000
Central America	35.000	35.000
Congo	25.500	300.000
England	1.700.000	26.000.000
Hong Kong	29.000	29.000
Indian Ocean	1.499	17.640
Ireland (Eire & Northern Ireland)	58.000	384.176
Japan	57.273	57.273
Jerusalem & The Middle East	10.000	10.000
Kenya	310.000	1.700.000
Korea	14.558	14.558
Melanesia	163.884	200.000
Mexico	21.000	21.000
Myanmar (Burma)	59.266	59.266
Nigeria	1.136.286	18.000.000
Papua New Guinea	10.266	166.046
Philippines	121.000	162.468
Rwanda	85.000	1.000.000
Scotland	34.119	53.553
South East Asia	168.079	168.079
Southern Africa	255.000	3.000.000
Southern Cone (of South America)	22.490	22.490
Sudan	382.500	4.500.000
Tanzania	170.000	2.000.000
Uganda	795.600	8.000.000
USA	1.588.057	2.405.000
Wales	56.549	84.000
West Africa	85.000	1.000.000
West Indies	63.878	134.496
<b>TOTAL Anglicans</b>	<b>8.795.425</b>	<b>77.427.201</b>

<sup>467</sup> The sources of these figures are detailed in Muñoz, 'North to South', 18.

**(b) Membership statistics by continent**

The following table shows both outer and inner circle membership by continent:

Table 2. Summary of Anglican Communion membership by continent

Continent	Outer Circle	Inner Circle
Africa	40,542,640	3,333,510
Asia	500,644	469,442
Europe	26,521,729	1,848,668
Latin America	355,139	187,368
North America <sup>468</sup>	3,852,080	2,134,014
Oceania	5,654,969	822,423
<b>Total Result</b>	<b>77,427,201</b>	<b>8,795,425</b>

The proportion in the relationship between outer and inner circle is not the same in all continents. Europe and Africa represent the highest contrast between the two figures. In Europe, where the predominant national church is the Church of England, the inner circle represents 7% of the outer membership. In Africa, the figure is similar, with just over 8% of the outer circle membership being active members. In Asia the inner circle is about 90% of the outer circle. This suggests that their method of counting members is based on active membership. In North America and Latin America, the inner circle represents just over 50% of the outer circle. Finally, in Oceania about 14% of the outer circle are active members of the church.

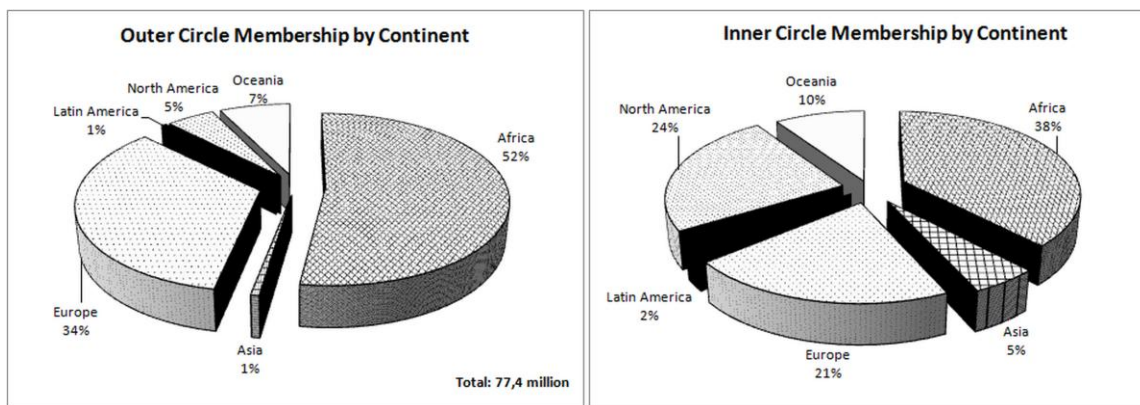


Figure 1. Outer and inner circles by continent

<sup>468</sup> USA and Canada. It does not include Mexico, which is integrated into Latin America.

The differences between outer and inner circle membership in a cross-continent comparative analysis are clearly depicted in the above figure. The most striking difference in both graphs is the membership proportions of Africa in relation to the wider Communion. In the inner circle Africa, whilst being the largest single group of Anglicans, loses its predominance. The second most striking element is the place of North America in each chart. Whilst in the outer circle its numeric and proportional significance is very low, in the inner circle it represents a quarter of Anglicans worldwide.

(c) *Inner and outer circle membership by culture*

Figure 2 (below) shows the outer and inner circle membership classified into ‘cultures’. For the sake of simplicity, four geographical cultural groups have been identified: (1) Africa; (2) Western (Europe, North America, Australia & New Zealand); (3) Asia and non-Western Oceania; and (4) Latin America.

According to the outer circle membership, there is a general split between Africa and the Western world, with Africans representing just over half of the Communion, whilst Western Anglicans represent just under half. Asia and Latin America are numerically insignificant in the outer circle membership.

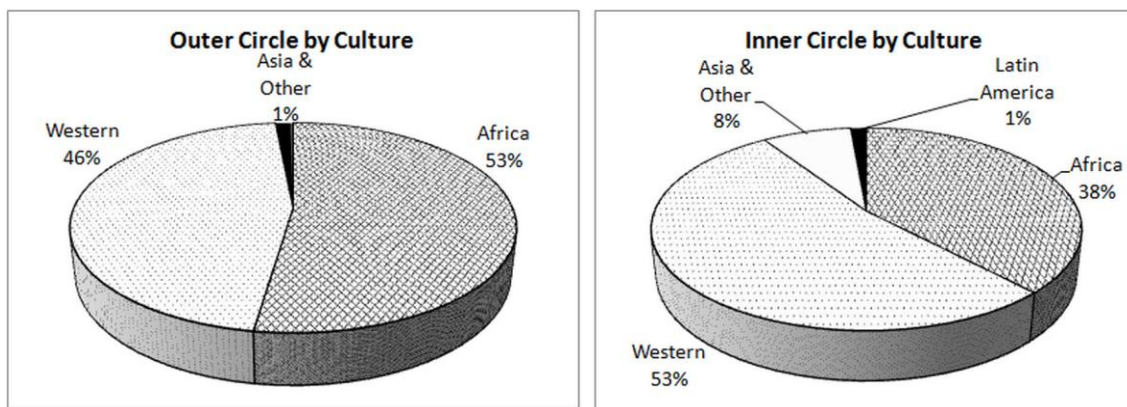


Figure 2. Outer and inner circles by culture

In the inner circle the picture is very different. The Western section is by far the largest of the four, with more than half of the total. Africa is still a significant section, with over a

third of the overall inner circle membership, and Asia and Latin America combined are nearly a tenth of the Anglican Communion.

#### *5.4.2. Deconstructing the myth of alignment figures*

One of the most significant, albeit indirect, findings of this research pertains to the overall alignment figures. These figures, especially but not exclusively from the inner circle, challenge in a radical way the numbers often quoted by official Global South and the GAFCON sources. The results of this investigation also raise several questions as to the connections between Anglican identity, new global alignments and what may be perceived as an indiscriminate, unquestioned and unchallenged use of membership numbers. They also offer a new picture of the Communion, in which the various alignments are very different in size, and in which previously taken-for-granted figures are deconstructed. For the sake of simplicity and consistency, I have followed here the distinction proposed in section 5.2.5. between the Global South and the Global North. The following map illustrates the geography of contemporary Anglicanism based on both alignment groups.

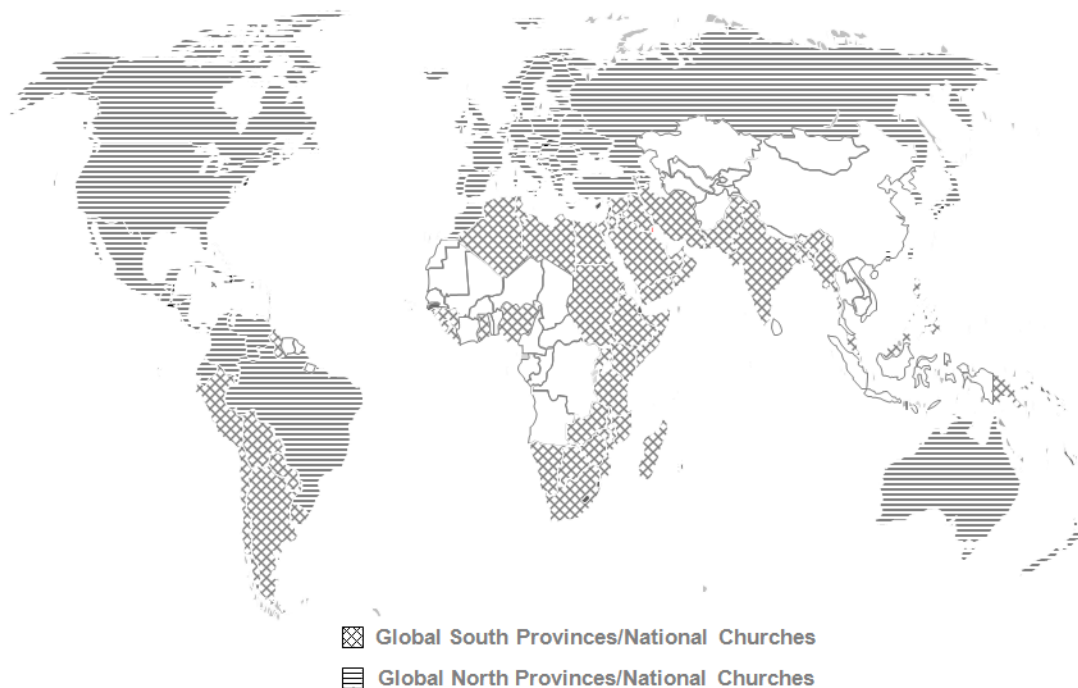


Figure 3. Anglican Communion world map by alignment

This world map shows the provincial/national churches ecclesiological alignments. In the American continent, it includes the dioceses of the 9<sup>th</sup> Province of the USA Episcopal Church (Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Puerto Rico and Venezuela). In Europe, it includes the CofE Diocese in Europe, which covers from Morocco to Vladivostok and from Scandinavian countries to Turkey. In Asia, I have also included the United Churches of North India, South India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, which are not included in the statistical research.

Because the criteria here is ‘provinces’ or ‘national churches’, the map does not show those dioceses within a particular province which are not aligned with their province. The two most representative examples are Sydney diocese in Australia, firmly aligned with the Global South and the diocese of Uruguay in the Southern Cone, theologically aligned to the Global North. Neither does it show the North American groups that have aligned themselves with the GAFCON. The case of South Africa is also significant, for although historically it has been theologically diverse and in some instances a liberal church, it chose, nevertheless, to align itself with the Global South.

The Global South and Global North distributions per continent are illustrated below. The graphics show the inner circle cross-continent distribution in percentages.

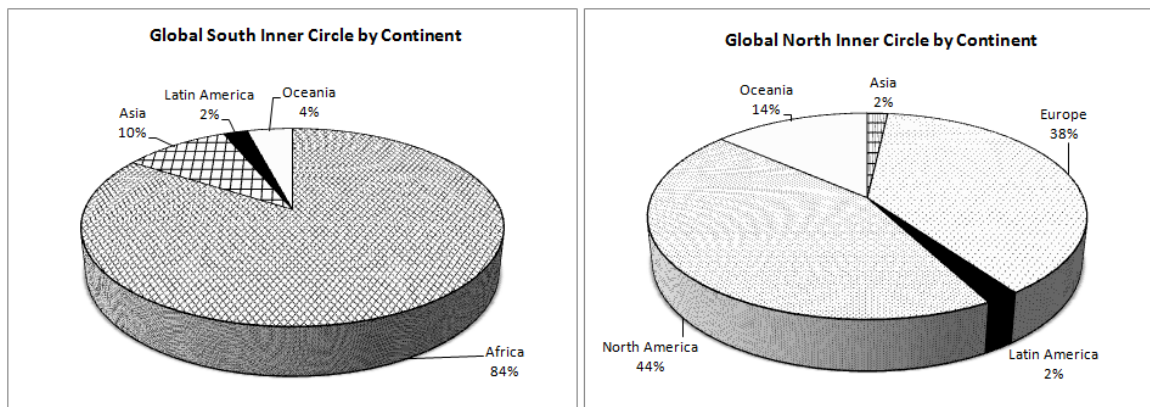


Figure 4. Inner circle by continent and alignment

The most striking thing here is that, statistically and proportionately, the Global South is not a particularly global phenomenon. The overwhelming majority of its members are in Africa, with a small minority present in Asia, Oceania and Latin America. No provinces are represented from Europe and North America. In the case of the Global North, the

predominant group is formed by the North American churches, followed by the European ones, Oceania and, in a small proportion, Asia and Latin America. The Global North is therefore overwhelmingly Western.

The total membership differences between Global South and Global North are particularly noticeable when contrasting outer and inner circle statistics side by side. The following graph is based on the two sets of membership data by percentage (on left column).

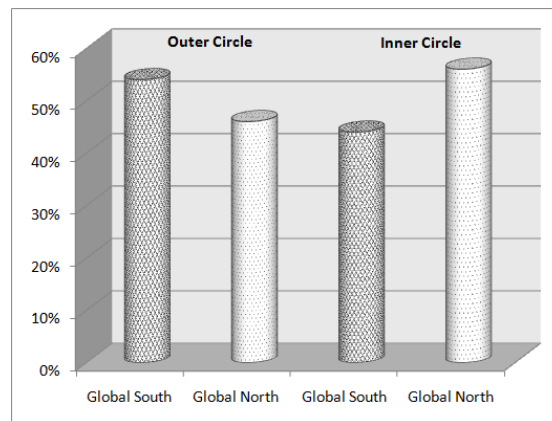


Figure 5. Outer and inner circles by alignment

It is clear from the data in figure 5 that: (a) in the outer circle the Global South appears to be slightly larger; (b) in the inner circle the reverse is true, the Global North is the larger group; and (c) in both cases the percentage figures are reasonably close. Whichever membership counting method we use, the divide is real but also fairly even.

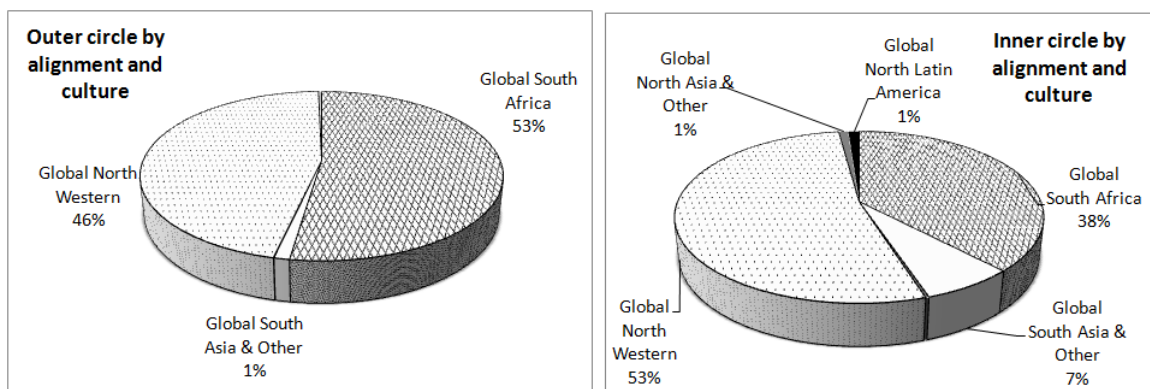


Figure 6. Outer and inner circle by alignment and culture (%)

When we take into account the culture dimension, the results reveal that the most significant split in the Communion is between two principal cultural contexts: Western and African. The other cultures, whilst playing their part, numerically can only be described as minor players. This is shown in figures 6 (above) and 7 (below), with visual comparative graphs of outer and inner circle results by alignment and culture groups.

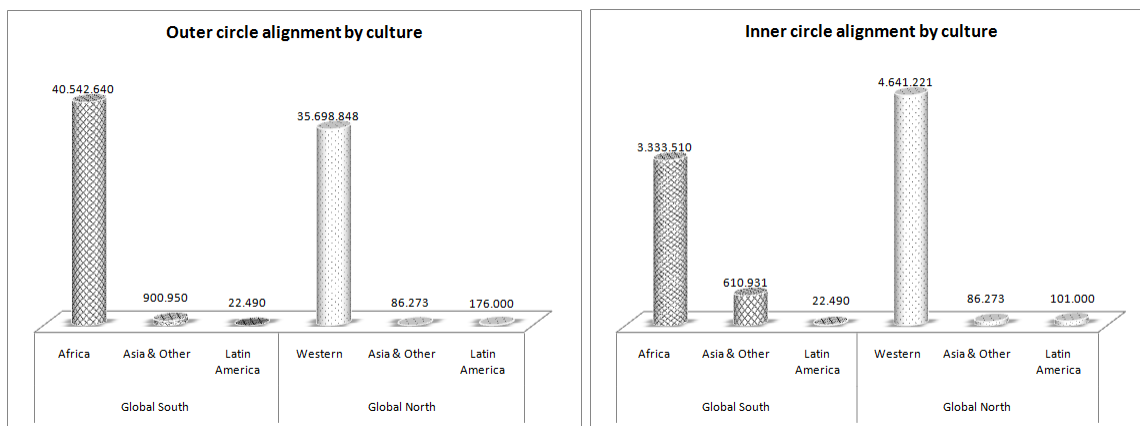


Figure 7. Outer and inner circle by alignment and culture (absolute figures)

#### 5.4.3. Final considerations on Anglican membership

The statistical data shown in this section seeks to offer an updated estimate of the membership of the Anglican Communion, based on a fundamental distinction between inner and outer circles' memberships. The research has tried to disentangle the mixed methods of counting across the Communion, in order to homogenize the data into these two categories. I do not seek to judge here which of the two deserves a heavier weight, or which offers a more accurate or realistic representation of the Communion. Both types of membership are important. One cannot underestimate the significance of outer circle members in countries like England or Uganda, where there is a historic or social form of Anglicanism, what Avis calls 'sociological catholicism'.<sup>469</sup> In both these cases, the idiosyncrasy of the parish system still means that the local parish church plays a role in the wider community that goes beyond the inner circle congregation. Likewise, one cannot ignore the reality of the active inner circle membership, and the primary role they play in resourcing and sustaining financially the fabric of the local (and national) church.

<sup>469</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 7.



Finally, it is also worth stressing that this research does not claim to offer a definitive figure, or set of figures, of the membership of the Anglican Communion. As pointed out above, given the lack of consistency in membership counting methods in the Communion and the difficulty in data gathering from official sources, this research offers an estimate of the size of the Anglican Communion at the time of writing (August 2014). It is therefore not an accurate representation of the membership of the Communion, but an informed approximation based on the latest available data and on the research methodology applied. In addition, it has been conducted within the time constraints and limited resources of the wider PhD investigation. The issue of membership is significant enough to be the single topic of a doctoral thesis. My hope, therefore, is that by reframing the issue, it will encourage others to take this investigation further and to offer contrasting evidence. It would be especially helpful if national churches, particularly, though not exclusively, in Africa, were able to provide inner circle membership data. It would also be useful to find out the precise number of Anglicans within the united churches of the Indian subcontinent.

## **5.5. Conclusions**

This chapter has attempted to map out the development of Anglican identity in the last two centuries, with reference to the history of the Anglican Communion, some contemporary articulations of Anglican identity, the issue of authority, and the role of membership figures. The first section explored the historical development of Anglican identity following the timeline of the various Lambeth Conferences. The second section sought to engage with the concept of identity from the twofold perspective of *koinonia* and *alterity*. The focus was on the theological, philosophical and sociological articulations of Anglican identity, including the redefinition of identity through the ‘gay issue’. The third section touched on the idea of authority in historic and contemporary Anglicanism. And the fourth section explored some of the links between membership numbers, new ecclesial alignments and identity.

In the light of the above exploration and analysis, one can draw a number of conclusions. First, that Anglican identity-definition has been ‘works in progress’ ever since the genesis of the Anglican Communion. The development of Anglican identity, for

most of the history of the Communion, centred on *koinonia* definitions. It also asserted inner diversity (including liberalism) and comprehensiveness as key identity markers of Anglicanism. In recent decades, however, a shift in identity formulation has occurred. For some Anglicans, the new boundary markers are not the historic theological systems or ecclesial parties, but a single issue which has become a ‘condensing symbol’ for many.

Secondly, in the process of recent identity constructions, new alignments have been forged. These realignments, labelled here as Global South and Global North, are reshaping global Anglicanism. However, they are much more complex and internally diverse than often admitted. Self-defined ‘orthodox Anglicans’ encompass a wide range of conservative groups with very different ecclesiologies, sacramentologies and theologies of the ordained ministry. Likewise, the Global North is not a largely liberal and monochromatic entity, but a diverse fellowship of Anglican provinces that have chosen not to align themselves with the Global South agenda. These include self-defined ‘inclusive’ or ‘affirming’ provinces regarding LGBT issues, as well as many Anglicans who do not have a strong opinion on the issue and/or consider it a matter of *adiaphora*.

Thirdly, the demographic argument can no longer be taken for granted. This study has shown that the official membership numbers of the Anglican Communion are complex and obscured by the lack of consistency in the method of counting. When a distinction between inner and outer circle membership is followed, the resulting pictures of the Communion look very different. Based on the estimated membership drawn from this research, the Global South, whilst representing a significant proportion of Anglicans worldwide, is actually a minority of the inner circle. By contrast, North America, for example, represents a quarter of the membership of the Communion, whilst Western Anglicans stand for more than half of active Anglicans in the world. Likewise, although the general direction in recent decades has been of a North to South demographic shift, currently the narrative is more accurately described as one of North *and* South. The demographic weight of both groups challenges the commonly accepted growth/decline narrative, and raises significant questions concerning how Anglicans can affirm both unity and diversity. In particular, it highlights how the instruments of communion, especially the archbishop of Canterbury, may balance legitimate concerns for unity with not alienating the majority of practicing Anglicans in the world.

Finally, this chapter has introduced some of the key themes in Anglican identity definition and development. However, it has not provided a comprehensive answer to the question of contemporary Anglican identity. In the next chapters, I will attempt to delve into this question with a particular reference to the key texts that have shaped the Anglican Covenant and to the Covenant itself. The aim is to discern how each province and/or national church within the Communion understands what it means to be Anglican in its own context. I will explore the ecclesiologies emerging from these new (implicit and explicit) identity formulations. Lastly, I will address what I perceive to be the root of the current conflict, and the principal shaper of contemporary Anglican identity, namely, the transitions and clashes between different cultural paradigms.

## Chapter 6. From Windsor to the Covenant

### 6.1. The Windsor Report: responding to a Communion in crisis

In October 2003 the archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, hosted the primates of the Anglican Communion for a special meeting at his official residence in Lambeth Palace, London. In his invitation to the gathering he stated:

I am clear that the anxieties caused by recent developments have reached the point where we will need to sit down and discuss their consequences. I hope that in our deliberations we will find that there are ways forward in this situation which can preserve our respect for one another and for the bonds that unite us.<sup>470</sup>

This extraordinary Primates Meeting was attended by all Anglican provincial leaders, from all five continents. Amongst them were the United States Episcopal presiding bishop, Frank Griswold, and the archbishop of Nigeria, Peter Akinola. The gathering took place in a conclave fashion, behind closed doors, with a simple communiqué issued at the end of the meeting. According to the communiqué, the encounter had been conducted ‘in an atmosphere of common prayer and worship.’<sup>471</sup> The reality, however, was somewhat different. At the initial morning session, the archbishop of Canterbury told the group that it was customary for him to celebrate the eucharist in his private chapel every day at noon, and extended an invitation to everyone to join him. The reaction of some primates to this invitation came as a shock to the archbishop. Some African primates expressed their unwillingness to participate if Frank Griswold attended the service. After all, they did not feel they were in communion with the church he represented.

Williams was confronted with the very real and deeply severe fractures already present in the Communion. Refusing to join around the Communion Table was an enacted parable of the sad state of affairs within the worldwide Anglican family. As the

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<sup>470</sup> <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/communion/primates/history/2003/index.cfm> Accessed 10 October 2014.

<sup>471</sup> <http://www.anglicannews.org/news/2003/10/a-statement-by-the-primates-of-the-anglican-communication-meeting-in-lambeth-palace.aspx> Accessed 10 October 2014.

time approached for the eucharistic service to commence, and having had time to reflect on the unfolding events, Rowan Williams stood up and said, ‘May I remind you again that you are all invited to join me at the eucharist, and that this invitation is based on the fact that you are all in communion with *me* as archbishop of Canterbury.’ All but one primate went into the chapel and took part in the service. Of those who attended all but two or three received communion. Those who did not remained quietly in their seats, keeping a low profile, yet reminding the archbishop of Canterbury and their fellow primates with their presence that sacramental communion amongst Anglicans was truly and clearly broken.<sup>472</sup> By the time the primates met at Dromantine in Northern Ireland in February 2005, shared eucharistic communion was not included in the programme.<sup>473</sup>

The events that had triggered such a fracture in the Anglican Communion were very recent but had deeper roots. These were crystallized in 2003, an *annus horribilis* for world Anglicanism. That year, in Canada, the first diocesan-authorized same-sex blessing was celebrated in the diocese of New Westminster. In England, Jeffrey John, a partnered gay priest, was appointed as bishop of Reading in the Oxford Diocese. Due to internal and external pressures John was forced to resign before his consecration went ahead. Early in the year TEC’s General Convention ratified the nomination of Gene Robinson, another partnered gay man as bishop of New Hampshire. Robinson was consecrated in November of the same year. In the meantime, a number of Anglican provinces from the Global South had been offering episcopal oversight to churches in North America, without the consent of their diocesan bishops. Anglicanism was a ‘Communion in crisis.’<sup>474</sup>

The October 2003 extraordinary Primates’ Meeting agreed to establish the Lambeth Commission, a working group charged with the responsibility of finding a way forward to resolve the crisis. The two key elements of their mandate were: first, to reflect on the theological and legal implications of affirming same-gender relationships, as well

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<sup>472</sup> Source: a primate who attended the meeting but who does not wish to be identified.

<sup>473</sup> See: <http://www.virtueonline.org/dromantine-koinonia-no-communication> Accessed 12 October 2014. This scene was repeated at the 2007 Primates’ Meeting in Dar-Es-Salaam, at which ‘eight primates refused to receive communion at a service at which Katherine Jefferts-Schori, the recently elected Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, was present.’ Mark Chapman (ed.), *The Anglican Covenant: unity and diversity in the Anglican Communion* (London/New York: Mowbray, 2008), 23.

<sup>474</sup> ‘The Windsor Report’ (London: Anglican Communion Office, 2004). In <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/68225/windsor2004full.pdf> Accessed 6 November 2015.

as on the meaning of communion, including ‘impaired and broken communion’;<sup>475</sup> and secondly, ‘to include practical recommendations [...] for maintaining the highest degree of communion.’<sup>476</sup>

### ***6.1.1. The Windsor Report: structure and summary***

The Lambeth Commission was chaired by Archbishop Robin Eames, primate of All Ireland, and had twenty members representing fourteen of the thirty eight provinces/national churches from across the Anglican Communion.<sup>477</sup> It included bishops, theological educators, legal experts and members of the Anglican Communion Office and the Anglican Consultative Council. After several meetings, in October 2004 the group produced ‘The Windsor Report’,<sup>478</sup> a sixty page document<sup>479</sup> that addressed the unfolding crisis and called for an Anglican Covenant to be written, agreed and adopted by churches around the Communion. The Windsor Report was divided in four sections.

The first section (A) explored some of the theological, biblical and ecclesiological dimensions of communion. It included a reference to the recent context of divisions and to ‘six underlying features of our common life.’<sup>480</sup> The features identified were: theological development, ecclesiastical procedures, adiaphora, subsidiarity, trust and authority. These elements, according to the Commission, were deeply connected with the recent crisis.

The second section (B) described the ‘fundamental principles’ at the heart of Anglican ecclesiology. The focus was on the understanding of communion, the already existing, shared koinonia (praxis ecclesiology),<sup>481</sup> the diversity within the Communion and the bonds of affection. Regarding the latter, three elements were identified: scripture (both its authority and interpretation), the episcopate, and the *consensus fidelium*,

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<sup>475</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>476</sup> Ibid.

<sup>477</sup> The following provincial/national churches were represented in the Lambeth Commission: Aotearoa-New Zealand, Canada, Central Africa, England, Hong Kong, Ireland, Kenya, Nigeria, North India, Scotland, Southern Africa, USA, Wales, West Indies.

<sup>478</sup> For a detailed analysis of the report see: Frank G. Kirkpatrick, *The Episcopal Church in Crisis* (Praeger Publishing: Westport, Connecticut, 2008), 65-112.

<sup>479</sup> The document is 93 pages including the Appendices.

<sup>480</sup> WR, 20.

<sup>481</sup> Ibid. 24-26.

described as the process of discernment in communion.<sup>482</sup> Concerning diversity within the Communion, two elements were highlighted: autonomy, defined within the limits of subsidiarity and interdependence,<sup>483</sup> and adiaphora, ultimately defined by those who oppose innovation.<sup>484</sup>

The following section (C) dealt with structural and legal questions. It described the existing ‘Instruments of Communion’ and demanded clearer defined roles. It also addressed the importance of canon law, raising the issue of the desirability for a ‘communion law’ able to reflect the principles of canon law common to the churches of the Communion. Within this legal context the report made its central recommendation:

This Commission recommends, therefore, and urges the primates to consider, the adoption by the churches of the Communion of a common Anglican Covenant which would make explicit and forceful the loyalty and bonds of affection which govern the relationships between the churches of the Communion.<sup>485</sup>

The Covenant, however, would be more than a legally binding document. It would constitute an expression of Anglican identity. For the Commission, a ‘Covenant incarnates communion as a visible foundation around which Anglicans can gather to shape and protect their distinctive identity and mission.’<sup>486</sup> In this respect, as an identity statement, it would be valuable for ecumenical relations with other Christian churches and in the relationships between national Anglican churches and the State.

The proposal was for the Anglican Covenant to be the result of a ‘long-term’ consultative process under the direct leadership of the primates. The precise meaning of ‘long term’ was left unqualified, with no reference to a time-line. However, the Commission spelt out five possible stages:

(1) ‘discussion and approval of a first draft by the primates’

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<sup>482</sup> The latter ecclesiological idea is ambiguous enough to (miss)lead the reader to interpret it as seeking doctrinal consensus or agreement. A better rendition of this phrase would be the more widely accepted use of the ‘sensus fidelium’.

<sup>483</sup> WR, 34-38.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid. 38-40.

<sup>485</sup> WR, 48.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid. 49.

- (2) 'submission to the member churches and the Anglican Consultative Council for consultation and reception'
- (3) 'final approval by the primates'
- (4) 'legal authorization by each church for signing', and
- (5) 'a solemn signing by the primates in a liturgical context.'<sup>487</sup>

The actual process of drafting the covenant, as we shall see in this chapter, was more complex than originally suggested, taking three drafts, rather than one. It was carried out, not by the primates, but by a Design Group representing a wider mix of theologians and lawyers, both lay and ordained. Finally, it was also less straightforward in its reception stage due to cultural, theological, and legal reasons. In fact, stage five of the Windsor Report, symbolising the full reception of the Covenant by the Anglican Communion as a whole, has to date not occurred, and it seems unlikely that it will ever take place.

The last section (D), addressed the maintenance of communion in the context of changes in North America and the way in which 'a number of primates and other bishops have taken it upon themselves to intervene in the affairs of other provinces of the Communion.'<sup>488</sup> Amongst the recommendations made in the Windsor Report to the USA Episcopal Church and to the Canadian Anglican Church, two stand out. The first, affecting TEC, was the withdrawal from representative functions in the Anglican Communion of those bishops who took part in the consecration of Gene Robinson. The second was 'a moratorium on the election and [...] consecration of any candidate to the episcopate who is living in a same gender union until some new consensus in the Anglican Communion emerges,'<sup>489</sup> as well as a moratorium on the blessing of same-gender couples.<sup>490</sup>

The report also addressed those who opposed the actions of the North American Churches. In addition to asking for a moratorium on cross-provincial activity,<sup>491</sup> they requested them to refrain from perceived homophobic behaviours that involved the 'demonising of homosexual persons, or their ill treatment,' for this 'is totally against

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<sup>487</sup> Ibid. 48.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid. 51.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid. 54.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid. 57.

<sup>491</sup> Ibid. 59.



Christian charity and basic principles of pastoral care.’<sup>492</sup> Likewise, they urged provinces to ‘reassess, in the light of [...] study and because of our concern for human rights, its care for and attitude toward persons of homosexual orientation.’<sup>493</sup>

### ***6.1.2. Responses to the Windsor Report***

The recommendations of the Windsor Report regarding the threefold moratoria on consecrating partnered gay bishops, blessing the unions of same-gender couples, and cross-provincial border episcopal activity, were not enthusiastically embraced by any of the parties. The USA Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church of Canada continued to affirm the ministry of gay people and to develop liturgies for the blessing of same-sex couples. In the words of Frank Griswold:

Given the emphasis of the Report on difficulties presented by our differing understandings of homosexuality, as Presiding Bishop I am obliged to affirm the presence and positive contribution of gay and lesbian persons to every aspect of the life of our church and in all orders of ministry. Other Provinces are also blessed by the lives and ministry of homosexual persons. I regret that there are places within our Communion where it is unsafe for them to speak out of the truth of who they are.<sup>494</sup>

The latter statement was directed both to his own church and to the Global South churches that had consistently refused to engage with the listening process to LGBT Anglicans. By contrast, Archbishop Peter Akinola of Nigeria, in his response to the report, regretted the soft tone of the document toward the North American churches, and warned that he would continue to offer episcopal oversight to conservative Anglican communities in the USA and Canada. In his own words:

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<sup>492</sup> Ibid. 57

<sup>493</sup> Ibid. This echoes the 1998 Lambeth 1:10 resolution, which “calls on all our people to minister pastorally and sensitively to all irrespective of sexual orientation and to condemn irrational fear of homosexuals” (section d); and states: “We commit ourselves to listen to the experience of homosexual persons and we wish to assure them that they are loved by God and that all baptised, believing and faithful persons, regardless of sexual orientation, are full members of the Body of Christ.” (section c)

<sup>494</sup> Frank Griswold, ‘A Word to the Church, some preliminary reflections regarding the Windsor Report’, in <http://anglicancommunion.org/commission/process/responses/index.cfm> Accessed 15 December 2014.

We have been asked to express regret for our actions and affirm our desire to remain in the Communion. How patronizing! We will not be intimidated. In the absence of any signs of repentance and reform from those who have torn the fabric of our Communion, and while there is continuing oppression of those who uphold the Faith, we cannot forsake our duty to provide care and protection for those who cry out for our help.<sup>495</sup>

Akinola was the only African primate who responded to the report by rejecting its recommendations *prima facie*. The archbishops of Burundi, Central Africa and Southern Africa, all endorsed the report and encouraged their provinces to engage in the process.<sup>496</sup> The same endorsement was received by all other provinces who officially responded to Windsor: Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada, England, USA, Wales<sup>497</sup> and Southern Cone.<sup>498</sup> Most of these highlighted the unanimous nature of the report, the challenges it posed to many in the Communion, and its significance on the road to healing and reconciliation.

In addition to the official responses from primates and provinces, a number of theologians from across the Communion have critiqued the report at a number of levels. Some warned that Windsor focused too much on structure and on legal elements as a means to solve the recent crisis. Katherine Grib affirmed that: '[m]ore structure by itself

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<sup>495</sup> Peter Akinola, 'Statement on the Windsor Report 2004 from the Primate of All Nigeria,' 19 October 2004. In: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/process/responses/index.cfm> Accessed 19 December 2014.

<sup>496</sup> Cf. 'Statement from the Episcopal Church of Burundi, The Most Revd. Samuel Ndayisenga, Archbishop of Burundi,' 3 November 2004; 'Statement on the Windsor Report from the Most Revd Njongonkulu Ndungane, Primate of Southern Africa,' 18 October 2004; 'Statement by the Most Revd Bernard Malango, Primate of Central Africa, on the release of the Windsor Report,' 18 October 2004. In: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/process/responses/index.cfm> Accessed 19 December 2014.

<sup>497</sup> Cf. Rowan Williams, 'Statement from the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Windsor Report,' 18 October 2004; 'Statement on the Windsor Report from the Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, The Most Revd Andrew Hutchison,' 19 October 2004; 'Statement from the Archbishop of Wales, The Most Revd Barry Morgan, on the Windsor Report,' 18 October 2004; 'Pastoral letter from the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand & Polynesia,' 25 October 2004. In: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/process/responses/index.cfm> Accessed 19 December 2014.

<sup>498</sup> The Province of the Southern Cone officially endorsed the Windsor Report. However, like Nigeria, they expressed regret that the USA and Canada had not been sufficiently disciplined in the report. See: 'Resolution of Provincial Synod of the Southern Cone,' Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, 2-4 November 2004. In: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/process/responses/index.cfm> Accessed 19 December 2014.

does not automatically solve the problem of lawlessness.<sup>499</sup> Harold Lewis argued that the proposals of the Windsor Report seemed to be creating a different kind of Communion guided, not by a *covenant*, which he interprets in the Hookerian sense of an understanding to stay together whilst acknowledging difference, but by a *contract*, a legal agreement, that ‘understands the church to be rigid’<sup>500</sup>. And Ian Douglas criticized the ‘instrumentalist’ rather than relational approach to unity in the Report.<sup>501</sup>

Connected with the latter point, Windsor suggested enhanced roles for the Instruments of Unity, which in the document, according to Linzey, became more like ‘Instruments of Uniformity’.<sup>502</sup> This emphasis on uniformity and on understanding communion as agreement-consensus, has also been criticized by Calvani, Breidenthal and others. For Breidenthal, ‘the Report mirrors the mistaken assumption of most ecumenical dialogue, namely, that unity is to be achieved by narrowing the disagreement gap.’<sup>503</sup> For the Brazilian ecclesialogist Carlos Calvani, ‘there has never been theological uniformity within the church, even in apostolic times.’<sup>504</sup> For Kevin Ward, communion does not require agreement even on essentials.<sup>505</sup>

The Windsor Report made a recurring appeal to mission throughout the document. These references, with a few exceptions, were doctrinal rather than based on ecclesial praxis.<sup>506</sup> The central affirmation being that Anglican churches participate ‘in the apostolic mission of the whole people of God.’<sup>507</sup> What the Report fails to acknowledge, according to some, is both the missional significance of the changes of practice in the Western churches, and the importance for African churches to prioritize what some regard as urgent missional tasks in their own contexts. Esther Mombo offered a critique to the report from Kenya, affirming that in Windsor:

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<sup>499</sup> Cited in: Ellen K. Wondra, ‘The Windsor Report: Communion, Structure, and Covenant’, *ATR* 87.4 (2005), 543-48 (545).

<sup>500</sup> Harold T. Lewis, ‘Covenant, contract and communion: reflections on a post-Windsor Anglicanism’, *ATR* 87.4 (2005), 601-7 (604).

<sup>501</sup> Cited in: Wondra, ‘The Windsor Report’, 544.

<sup>502</sup> Andrew Linzey, ‘In defense of diversity,’ in Andrew Linzey and Richard Kirker (eds.), *Gays and the future of Anglicanism: responses to the Windsor Report* (Winchester, Orca Books: 2005), 169-72, 178-79.

<sup>503</sup> Thomas E. Breidenthal, ‘Communion as disagreement,’ in Linzey and Kirker, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 190.

<sup>504</sup> Carlos Calvani, ‘The myth of the Anglican Communion’, *JAS* 3.2 (2005), 139-54 (140).

<sup>505</sup> Keith Ward, *Religion in community* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 151-158.

<sup>506</sup> Cf. WR, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 40, 41, 45, 49, 66, 68, 70, 81. The main exception was in the section on ‘partners in mission’ (74-77).

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.* 65.

Their understanding of reconciliation appears to be narrower than its Pauline basis. And it seems that some leaders have more to say about human sexuality than about pressing issues in their own areas. The Windsor Report challenges Anglicans in Africa as elsewhere to reflect critically on the missional priorities of the church.<sup>508</sup>

Following on from this statement, Mombo offers clear examples of what those missional priorities are in Africa, and in the process critiques some of the national church leaders. In her view:

It appears to me that the issue is among some heterosexual male church leaders whose voices appear to dominate global Anglican church politics at the expense of the far more pressing and urgent issues of mission and ministry. For many lay people and especially women, ministry is more than the politics of human sexuality. The essentials of ministry for the laity and women in particular include eradicating poverty, feeding the hungry, and dealing with the sick, especially those infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS. These aspects of ministry seem to be subverted by those in leadership who are not affected by these very needs.<sup>509</sup>

George Pattison offers a European perspective on this issue. Making an appeal to the importance of being culturally contextual in mission, he states:

There are important questions about prioritization, and I suggest that it is a greater priority for the leadership of the CofE to be attending to the dynamics of Christian life and mission in England than to be attempting to co-ordinate that life and mission with the practice of churches operating in very different social and cultural situations. [...] If leadership is needed, it is needed specifically for those struggling with the question as to how to be Christian in, with and under the

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<sup>508</sup> Esther Mombo, 'The Windsor Report: a paradigm shift for Anglicanism', *ATR* 89.1 (2007), 69.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.* 77.

conditions sometimes described as late modernity or the aftermath of Christendom.<sup>510</sup>

Pattison's reference to a post-Christendom culture here is significant. It reflects the context of Europe and other parts of the developed world, and is connected with the notion of postmodernity. His solution is for missional alignments to be formed along the lines of geography and culture, rather than denomination. This, in itself controversial proposal, whilst being an attractive logical result of cultural contextualization, does not help to solve the key issue addressed by Windsor.<sup>511</sup>

Connected with the above, one of the most concerning statements in the Report, is a superficial critique of postmodern views on 'difference', which does not engage deeply nor meaningfully with the issue at stake. The Lambeth Commission affirmed:

'Difference' has become a concept within current postmodern discourse which can easily mislead the contemporary western church into forgetting the principles, enshrined in scripture and often rearticulated within Anglicanism, for distinguishing one type of difference from another.<sup>512</sup>

This statement fails to recognize the complexities of postmodern thoughts and attitudes. It highlights the church's lack of understanding of and engagement with contemporary society and culture. It also ignores that postmodern young adults in the West display high ethical values and a high capacity to discern between different types of acceptable behaviour. They regard good difference as something to respect, whilst rejecting prejudiced behaviour against others based on racial, gender or sexuality grounds. Paradoxically, young adults in the West consider the church immoral, because of its judgmental, hypocritical and 'anti-gay' postures.<sup>513</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> George Pattison, 'The Rhetoric of Unity,' in Linzey and Kirker, *Guys and Anglicanism*, 146.

<sup>511</sup> On the issue of culture and inculturation in the Windsor Report, see also: Martin Stringer, 'The many faces of Anglicanism,' in Linzey and Kirker, *Guys and Anglicanism*, 260-272.

<sup>512</sup> WR, 39.

<sup>513</sup> This has been shown by two research projects among American young adults, aged 16-29, conducted by the Barna Group. Cf. David Kinnaman (ed.), *You Lost Me: Why Young Christians are Leaving the Church...and Rethinking Faith* (Grand rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2011); and David Kinnaman (ed.), *UnChristian: What a New Generation Really Thinks About Christianity... and Why It Matters* (Grand rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2007). According to the Barna Group: 'Today, the most common perception is

The two most controversial elements in the Report, however, were *autonomy* and *adiaphora*. Arguably the key issues at stake in the recent crisis, these concepts were explained in an unbalanced, unhistorical and theologically unsatisfactory way. Its attempt to define the Anglican understanding of autonomy clearly leaned toward a limited autonomy, subservient to the ‘common good’ of the communion. This ‘common good’ was ultimately determined by those who opposed a particular type of innovation.

Historically, autonomy has allowed provinces to govern themselves fully, and to develop their own way of being Anglican in their respective contexts, whilst affirming the bonds of affection with the rest of the Communion. This, in Anglican ecclesiology, has been rooted in the understanding that at the Council of Nicaea (325), primates were granted ‘territorial jurisdiction and sovereignty.’<sup>514</sup> In Windsor, autonomy is expressed within the framework of ‘interdependence’, the latter taking a whole new dimension. In its genesis, the notion of mutual responsibility and interdependence acted as a catalyst for sharing resources across the Communion in the context of mission.<sup>515</sup> The Windsor Report, however, redefines this concept applying it to decision-making in the context of ‘matters of deep theological concern to the whole Communion.’<sup>516</sup> The notion of interdependence adopts a novel meaning and significance in inter-Anglican relations. It is now associated with managing conflict, increased accountability and loss of provincial autonomy.<sup>517</sup> At a more fundamental level, interdependence, in the document, becomes a synonym of ‘not giving offence’.<sup>518</sup>

Esther Mombo, in addressing the issue of autonomy in the Windsor Report, reflected also on the inconsistent way that some African bishops approach the issue of autonomy:

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that present-day Christianity is "anti-homosexual." Overall, 91% of young non-Christians and 80% of young churchgoers say this phrase describes Christianity.’ See: <https://www.barna.org/barna-update/article/16-teensnext-gen/94-a-new-generation-expresses-its-skepticism-and-frustration-with-christianity#.VHdaFFcepBw> Accessed 25 November 2014.

<sup>514</sup> Jones, Gareth. ‘Thy grace shall always prevent...’, in Linzey and Kirker, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 134.

<sup>515</sup> This is the way in which it was first advocated by the participants of the Toronto Anglican Congress (1963) in the paper: ‘Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ’, London: SPCK, 1963. See also Danaher, ‘Beyond Imagination’, 219-41.

<sup>516</sup> WR, 16.

<sup>517</sup> This is the way that ‘interdependence’ is framed in the three Covenant drafts. See: Nassau Draft: ‘to foster interdependence and mutual accountability’ (5.2); St. Andrews 3.2.2.; Ridley 3.2.2.

<sup>518</sup> Linzey, ‘In defense of diversity’, 165-69.

Some leaders in the Global South are not able to deal with issues in their own backyards; but they are able to answer Macedonian calls. Some of the bishops who are available to give oversight overseas will not allow other bishops to give similar oversight in their own dioceses. They appeal to the autonomy of the provinces while they violate the very autonomy they claim to support.<sup>519</sup>

The notion of *adiaphora*, described by T.W. Bartel as ‘the Achilles heel of the Windsor Report’,<sup>520</sup> also seemed to be explained in a new way. Whilst echoing a historic Anglican understanding of this doctrine, it nevertheless departed significantly from such understanding. The analysis offered by the Windsor Report on this issue, in paragraphs 36-37, and particularly in 87-96, is clumsy, problematic and theologically and historically unsatisfactory.

The definition of *adiaphora* as ‘issues about which one can disagree without dividing the church’<sup>521</sup> has the *undivided* church as its primary assumption. In the European Reformation, when this concept was employed by its greatest articulator, Philip Melanchthon, the starting point was not a united church, but one that was already fractured into several reformed bodies. Melanchthon sought to reconcile Protestants and Roman Catholics by distinguishing between Christian doctrine and practice. The first, articulated through the lens of the doctrine of justification *sola fide* and *sola gratia*, comprised those essential items of faith shared by all Christians. The second were *adiaphora*, that is, articles not necessary for salvation, connected with human law and church polity. In his *Loci Communes*, Melanchthon wrote:

Everything covered thus far in this work has first dealt with dogmas which belong to the church and which deal with God and other eternal things, such as, the Law of God, sin, the Gospel, grace, righteousness, and the sacraments, [...] Now we shall speak about that level of works which belong in a much lower position, beneath the doctrine and works of which we have spoken above. We shall speak

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<sup>519</sup> Mombo, ‘The Windsor Report’, 76.

<sup>520</sup> Timothy W. Bartel ‘*Adiaphora: the Achilles heel of the Windsor Report*’, *ATR* 89.3 (2007), 401-19.

<sup>521</sup> WR, 38.

of the ceremonies which have been developed by human authority in the church, among which there is a very great difference.<sup>522</sup>

The defining characteristic of adiaphora, for Melanchthon, was something which had been developed ‘by human authority’, such as ceremonies. In practice, during the Anglo-German discussions of Henry VIII’s reign, the Lutheran theologian referred to other areas as adiaphora, namely, the power of bishops, the marriage of priests, the understanding of the eucharist and how the Lord’s Supper should be administered. The latter was clearly a doctrinal matter, yet Melanchthon, and others after him, like Hooker, were happy to consider it adiaphora. In essence, what made something adiaphora was the recognition of a diversity of views on a particular teaching or practice.<sup>523</sup>

Adiaphora was not a test of whether something was essentially divisive or non-divisive, but rather whether something was ‘essential to faith or salvation’.<sup>524</sup> Who decided on what was adiaphora or not was also crucial in the Reformation period. For Finish Lutheran theologian Laitakari-Pyykkö, in 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe ‘neither pope nor council enjoys any prerogative to dictate universal policy on adiaphora; rather the local (national) church may formulate policy.’<sup>525</sup> As Mark Chapman puts it, the ‘basic point was not that matters “indifferent” to salvation were not important, but rather they were those things which each and every national church had the authority to alter in due manner.’<sup>526</sup> In this respect too, the Windsor Report departs from a historic understanding of adiaphora. For the authors of the Report adiaphora is defined not by the national church, but by *other* national churches.

According to the Report, something is not adiaphora when ‘a sufficient number of other Christians will find [it] scandalous and offensive.’<sup>527</sup> This is what Bartel calls ‘the scandal test’.<sup>528</sup> Things are adiaphora, according to Windsor, if they can successfully pass the scandal test. However, in Bartel’s analysis, this test is not consistent with the Pauline

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<sup>522</sup> Philip Melanchthon, *Loci Communes*, ‘Locus 21’, in Christian Preus (ed.), *Commonplaces: loci communes 1521* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 2014).

<sup>523</sup> Cf. LEP, V. 376-377.

<sup>524</sup> Anja-Leena Laitakari-Pyykkö, ‘Philip Melanchthon’s Influence on English Theological Thought during the Early English Reformation’, Thesis (PhD), University of Helsinki, 2013. iii.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid. 42.

<sup>526</sup> Chapman, *Anglicanism*, 39. Cf. Ibid. 41.

<sup>527</sup> WR, 40.

<sup>528</sup> Bartel, ‘Adiaphora’, 405.



passages upon which it is built (Romans 14:1-15:13; 1 Corinthians 8-10), nor with the recent history of Anglican scandals around the issue of women in the episcopate. According to him, it is naïve of the report authors to assume that the scandal test can be satisfied with a ‘discursive theological criteria’ based on Hooker’s method.<sup>529</sup> Instead, it is likely that more or less subtle power struggles might be at work. Bartle concludes:

In brief, any church that adopted the scandal test as a necessary condition of approval would leave itself hostage to hard-liners—to well-orchestrated campaigns of resistance by those who resolutely refuse to listen to the arguments of those who wish to alter church policy within their own jurisdictions, no matter how powerful those arguments might be. And a greater impediment to true communion could scarcely be imagined.<sup>530</sup>

Other authors have also criticized the selective use of history in the Report. Pattison, expressed concern at the way in which the Lambeth Commission dealt with the history of the Anglican Communion. According to him:

This abstract triumphalism is given flesh when, in some of the few concrete historical comments, the (Anglican) church's resistance to slavery and to acts of genocide, and its solidarity with indigenous peoples, and its work in disaster relief are flagged as springing ‘from the organic reality that is life in communion.’ This is, of course, an extremely selective reading of Anglican history. Undoubtedly there are splendid episodes to recall and celebrate. There are many fruits of our common life. But it can only be willful ignorance when university-educated theologians suggest that this is representative of the whole picture.<sup>531</sup>

Similarly, there is a critique of the Report’s account of recent Anglican history. By ignoring earlier events in which proper consultation took place at a Communion wide level, Wondra affirms that Windsor does not ‘offer an accurate reading of history or of recent events. It is at best, revisionist history, and at worst [...] a caricature, both of

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<sup>529</sup> Ibid. 406.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid. 407.

<sup>531</sup> Pattison, ‘The rhetoric of unity’, 142.

history and of current events.<sup>532</sup> Linzey too highlights the inconsistency between the way different controversial or divisive issues have been treated recently. He mentions two issues in particular over which Anglicans have had severe differences of opinion in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the ordination of women and the remarriage of divorcees. One affects the 'common order and ministry' of the Communion, the other, its understanding of marriage. He writes:

If matters relating to our "common ministry" and the nature of Christian marriage are issues that can be decided by provinces, even though they clearly relate to Communion-wide "standards, unity and good order", why should not others, such as the consecration of an openly gay bishop? What over-riding grounds have we for this particular exclusion?<sup>533</sup>

Kevin Ward echoed a similar sentiment in his essay, 'African perspectives on episcopacy and sexuality'. His critique focuses on the way that divorce was portrayed by the Report as adiaphora, whilst homosexuality failed to pass the test. In his own words:

As Windsor acknowledges: practice on divorce and remarriage varies widely throughout the Communion. 'The fact of divorce and remarriage would therefore not seem per se to be a crucial criterion.' (51). Despite the particularly clear and uncompromising stand of many of the African Anglican churches on marriage and divorce, it has not come anywhere near endangering a common sense of Anglican identity. Equally, there seems no reason why a difference in attitude to homosexual practice should be a 'crucial criterion'.<sup>534</sup>

In Windsor, the notion of adiaphora was set alongside the idea of subsidiarity, making the following connection between local and universal decision-making on adiaphora issues:

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<sup>532</sup> Wondra, 'The Windsor Report', 201.

<sup>533</sup> Linzey, 'In defense of diversity', 168.

<sup>534</sup> Kevin Ward, 'African perspectives on episcopacy and sexuality', in Linzey and Kirke, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 256.

The two notions of ‘adiaphora’ and ‘subsidiarity’ work together like this: the clearer it is that something is ‘indifferent’ in terms of the Church’s central doctrine and ethics, the closer to the local level it can be decided; whereas the clearer it is that something is central, the wider must be the circle of consultation.<sup>535</sup>

The Windsor Report, at this point, affirms that not everything can be accepted as a moral Christian behaviour by using two unfortunate examples: racism and paedophilia.<sup>536</sup> Paradoxically, whereas the latter has often been associated by homophobic individuals with homosexuality, often making no distinction between the abuse of a minor and consensual relations between adults, the former is a form of prejudice that is often compared to homophobia itself.

Finally, there have been two fundamental critiques leveled at the Report, one ecclesiological, one methodological. The first one is connected to the way in which the Anglican Communion is treated. According to Christopher Lewis, ‘[t]he central error is to give the Anglican Communion more ecclesiological significance than it in fact possesses.’<sup>537</sup> For Linzie the ecclesiology emerging from the Windsor Report is a ‘flawed ecclesiology’ for it takes no account of the work of the Spirit in the church today.<sup>538</sup> This concern was also echoed by the editor of the ATR, Ellen Wondra, who warned that Windsor curtailed the ‘prophetic voice’ of the local church and the ability to respond to what the Spirit may be saying in each cultural context.<sup>539</sup>

The second issue is a methodological one, and has to do with the framing of the ‘problem’ at the outset of the Report. Linzey observed that the way the problem is articulated ‘influences the result.’<sup>540</sup> He lists a wide range of questions that could have been posed by the primates, which could have dealt with the more fundamental problem of homophobia in the church. This issue is also raised by Thatcher. In his view, Windsor

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<sup>535</sup> WR, 40.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid. 39.

<sup>537</sup> Christopher Lewis, ‘On unimportance’, in Linzey and Kirker, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 151.

<sup>538</sup> Linzey, ‘In defense of diversity’, in Linzey and Kirker, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 174-76.

<sup>539</sup> Cf. Ellen K. Wondra, “‘The highest degree of communion possible’: Initial reflections on the Windsor Report 2004’, *ATR* 87.2 (2005), 204-205.

<sup>540</sup> Linzey, ‘In defense of diversity’, 161.

framed the question wrongly by stating as the problem the actions of some (USA / Canada) rather than the homophobic behaviours of others (Africans). He writes:

Anglicans will not at any price discuss the possibility that our Communion is deeply set in a nexus of homophobic attitudes. Since it may be these, and not the consecration of Bishop Gene, that is impairing communion, the proposals of the Windsor Report are not going to begin to address the big issue that divides Anglicans, and most churches throughout the world.<sup>541</sup>

Whereas the framing of the problem has its origin in the primates' mandate, the way forward for solving the problem is offered by the Report. For Linzey, this too is problematic, for: 'by (prematurely) giving an indication of how the "problem" could be resolved, namely through the exercise of archiepiscopal power, the result is, to some extent, anticipated.'<sup>542</sup> This influenced the early drafts of the Covenant and gave way to some of the liveliest discussions during the drafting process.

Despite all the above critiques, the Windsor Report laid the foundations for one of the most creative processes of inter-Anglican conversation and theological reflection in recent times. This process of articulating Anglican identity led, in 2009, to the publication of the Anglican Covenant.

## **6.2. The Covenant drafts and responses: articulating Anglican identities**

The Anglican Covenant, as pointed out above, is for all intents and purposes a defunct document. The Covenant never saw the light as an officially recognized statement of contemporary Anglican identity. Before it was completed, some of the key national churches in the Communion affirmed, explicitly or implicitly, that they would not support the text.<sup>543</sup> After its publication, the reception amongst other provinces and national churches was mixed. In total, only seventeen of the thirty eight national churches had

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<sup>541</sup> Adrian Thatcher, "'Impaired' communion: some questions", in Linzey and Kirker, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 2005. 277-78.

<sup>542</sup> Linzey, 'In defense of diversity', 161.

<sup>543</sup> This is the case, for example, of the Anglican Episcopal Church of Brazil and the Anglican Church of Nigeria who, for different reasons rejected the Covenant in the drafting process.

officially responded to the Covenant by November of 2012, according to the latest update by the Anglican Communion Office.<sup>544</sup> Some approved the full document.<sup>545</sup> Others accepted certain sections but not all.<sup>546</sup> Others postponed the final decision.<sup>547</sup> And others rejected the entire document. This was the case of the ‘mother church’, the Church of England, where a majority of its 44 dioceses refused to accept the Covenant.<sup>548</sup> Likewise, the Anglican Church of Australia, the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Church in the Philippines have officially rejected the Covenant.<sup>549</sup>

Whilst the end result did not gain the expected unanimous support of the Communion, the process of editing the document has left us some invaluable insights into contemporary Anglican self-understanding. As highlighted by the Church of Ireland General Synod, the ‘process in itself, irrespective of any outcome, has a real value of its own.’<sup>550</sup> The Covenant drafting process encouraged and enabled provinces and national churches to articulate their understanding of Anglican identity in their particular contexts. The three drafts of the Covenant, Nassau (2007), St. Andrew’s (2008) and Ridley-Cambridge (2009), were shaped by the responses that national churches gave to the evolving document. In their responses to the drafts one perceives a contemporary formulation of Anglican ecclesiology that is both diverse and contextual. It is to these three documents and the responses to them that I now turn.

Over a period of three years, between 2007 and 2009, fifty six official responses were made to the three Covenant drafts by twenty eight of the thirty eight

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<sup>544</sup> Cf. <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/39753/provincial-reception-of-the-anglican-covenant-for-acc-rev.pdf> Accessed 6 November 2015.

<sup>545</sup> Nine of the thirty eight national churches have adopted or approved the Covenant: Mexico, Myanmar, West Indies, South East Asia, Ireland, Papua New Guinea, Southern Cone, Hong Kong, and South Africa.

<sup>546</sup> This is the case of the Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and the Polynesia, Korea and Melanesia. These churches felt unable to adopt section 4 of the Covenant.

<sup>547</sup> The Anglican Church of Canada, the Episcopal Church (USA) and Wales.

<sup>548</sup> The Business Committee of the Church of England, on 25 May 2012, affirmed that: ‘The draft Act of Synod was approved in eighteen dioceses and not approved in twenty-six dioceses. Thus the draft Act of Synod was not approved by a majority of the dioceses and it therefore cannot be presented to the General Synod for Final Approval.’ See: <http://www.churchofengland.org/media/1477814/gs1878anglicancommunioncovenantreportbythebusinesscommittee.pdf> Accessed 25 November 2014.

<sup>549</sup> In the case of the Philippines, according to a newsletter (Philippine Episcopalian), the Prime Bishop of the national church affirmed that the Council of Bishops had rejected the Covenant. The Anglican Communion Office is seeking clarification on this information. See: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/covenant/docs/Provincial%20Reception%20of%20The%20Anglican%20Covenant%20to%20July%202014.pdf> Accessed 25 November 2014.

<sup>550</sup> Church of Ireland Anglican Covenant Response. 27 January 2009. In <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/39753/provincial-reception-of-the-anglican-covenant-for-acc-rev.pdf> Accessed 6 November 2015.

provincial/national churches in the Communion. Of these, ten national churches responded to all three drafts, seven replied to two drafts and eleven only to one. The reasons for the varying levels of engagement can be found in the diversity of cultural, geographical or even theological contexts. Some churches were not able to respond within the prescribed deadlines due to logistical challenges posed by the geographically dispersed communities, clergy and bishops. Others engaged at the beginning of the process, but unsure about the direction of the document, decided not to respond any further. And others felt that it was sufficient to make a single contribution to express their views on the process and content of the text.

The draft responses and contributions were also mixed in content, length, focus and style. Some were as short as a paragraph, others as long as ten or fourteen pages. Some responded to the text methodically and systematically, addressing each section, others offered more general reflections or expressed deep seated concerns about the perceived weaknesses in the documents. Some responses had a theological and ecclesiological focus, others a relational, legal or structural one. Overwhelmingly, the responses dealt with the fundamental question of authority and how authority is exercised in the Anglican Communion; whilst many offered their unique cultural perspectives and their preferred theological emphases of key identity markers.

Whatever the nature of each response, the internal process of responding to the texts also reflected the diversity of approaches to leadership and authority in the Communion. Some national churches appointed committees, others debated the drafts in their synods, others responded through their primates or bishops, whilst many others, encouraged the debate and discussions at parish, diocesan and national levels. In the latter case, this enabled a creative process of reflection and discussion across the province, involving lay and ordained, all making their unique contribution. This was, in and of itself, a tremendous example of the *sensus fidelium* at work in Anglican ecclesial praxis.

In most responses, there are signs of an Anglican ecclesiology expressing both their self-understanding in the local/national context, and an ecclesiology of communion. In some cases, these signs are clearly articulated as explicit signs. In other cases, these are implicit in the text, and one needs to ‘read-between-the-lines’ of their cultural, historical and ecclesiological contexts. The breadth of cultural and geographical respondents is also

significant, from liberal to conservative, from anglo-catholics to anglo-evangelicals, from Global South and Global North (from all five continents).

Despite all of the above, attempting to draw a common ecclesiology from these documents is fraught with serious difficulties and limitations. One issue is the limited nature of the sample. Since not all churches in the Communion replied to the drafts, any comprehensive picture of global Anglicanism drawn from this process would be incomplete. Another issue is the weight granted to different, often opposing, views and the criteria used in each case. Another is the way particular theological statements are interpreted, as well as specific culturally loaded language. The lack of agreement on what certain words or expressions mean in the draft documents, and the repeated requests for clearer definitions from many provinces highlight this issue. Then, there is the question of representativeness. In other words, to what extent do particular responses, especially those put together by bishops, primates or committees, excluding lay and/or local involvement, represent the breadth of understanding of Anglicanism in a particular country. There may be instances in which the leaders of a church hold an ecclesiology that is not shared, or would not be articulated in the same way, by some or all of the lay members of their church.

The method used to analyse the drafts and subsequent responses has been an inductive, rather than deductive one. In studying these documents I have sought to identify common themes, key concerns, and shared identity markers. I have also taken into account diverse or conflicting views as signs in their own right of ecclesiological significance. Following the section on identity markers, I have asked the question: how have the responses changed or shaped the various drafts and final Covenant document? The concluding reflections summarize the areas of commonality and diversity, and highlight the need for a higher Anglican synthesis able to include both.

### ***6.2.1. Identity markers***

Throughout the responses to the three Covenant drafts a series of ecclesiological markers emerge from the texts. The most recurring and significant ones are references to: (a) Hooker's conversational hermeneutics (Scripture-reason-tradition), (b) the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, (c) the principle of the *lex orandi-lex credendi*, (d) the

understanding of communion, unity and diversity, (e) the notion of mission, (f) the ecumenical vocation, (g) the concepts of adiaphora and provisionality, and (h) the understanding and praxis of authority and governance. All of these are explored below.

*(a) Hookers hermeneutical paradigm*

The conversation between Scripture, reason and tradition has, since Hooker's day, been a constant in Anglican approaches to hermeneutics and theological method. In articulating their understanding of Anglican identity, national churches from across the Communion either affirmed this classic triad, or put the emphasis on one particular element.

The initial Covenant draft did not make a direct reference to Hooker's hermeneutical paradigm. Instead, it affirmed Scripture and tradition,<sup>551</sup> ignoring the place of reason. The only implicit reference to reason is the appeal to 'building on the best scholarship'<sup>552</sup> when interpreting Scripture. This weakness in the first draft was noted at the Primates' Meeting (2007), where it was affirmed that '[t]here ought to be reference somewhere in the Covenant to the threefold authority of Scripture, Tradition and Reason informed by God.'<sup>553</sup> It was also identified by several churches, amongst them, by the Province of Southern Africa, who in its response to the first Covenant draft, pointed out that, '[t]here was also surprise that no reference was made here or elsewhere to "scripture, tradition and reason," which have historically been seen as foundational within Anglican self-understanding.'<sup>554</sup> This concern was also echoed early in the process by the Scottish Episcopal Church in response to the Nassau draft, stating that, '[t]he discussion of the foundations which are traditionally held to undergird Anglicanism omits to mention reason, which has long been thought to stand alongside scripture and tradition.'<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>551</sup> Nassau 3.1.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid. 3.3.

<sup>553</sup> The Primates Meeting (2007), 1.2. See: [http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/covenant/docs/Primates\\_discussion.pdf](http://www.anglicancommunion.org/commission/covenant/docs/Primates_discussion.pdf) Accessed 3 December 2014.

<sup>554</sup> South Africa 1.5. References to provincial responses to Covenant drafts follow the format: Country (or name of province if different) Draft Response (1=Nassau; 2=St. Andrew's; 3=Ridley).Page (in document).

<sup>555</sup> Scotland 1.1.



The second Covenant draft, St. Andrew's, took note of these recommendations and included a reference to 'theological and moral reasoning'<sup>556</sup> after Scripture and tradition. This development in the Covenant, whilst welcomed by some, did not entirely satisfy others. For the USA Episcopal Church, reason should be positioned between scripture and tradition, in an attempt to clarify the role of reason in the process of theological reflection. In their response to the St. Andrew's draft, TEC affirmed:

We appreciate that the commitment here is both to the primacy of Scripture and the valuing of the tradition of the church. We note that adding "reason" after "Scripture" would bring this into line with Hooker's formularies. Only with the moderating voice of reason do we arrive at the Anglican ethos of balance between Scripture and tradition.<sup>557</sup>

The reference to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* here is significant. As shown in chapter 3, Richard Hooker gave 'reason' a prominent role in the hermeneutical process. Although scripture always holds the prime position in Anglican theology, since the Elizabethan Settlement this is never in a vacuum, nor is it in isolation from its cultural and historical context. In this respect, reason acts as a hermeneutical tool in contextualising scripture. For Hooker, if there was to be a hierarchy among the various elements involved in this process, the order would be: Scripture, reason and tradition.

For other national churches in the Communion, the role of Scripture is paramount, subordinating 'tradition' to the authority of the Bible, and *de facto* ruling out any place of significance to reason. This is the case of some African national churches, such as Uganda and Nigeria. In both countries Anglicanism was established by the evangelical Church Mission Society (CMS) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The role of the Bible in the early formation of these churches was essential, including a particular theological interpretation, based on the key reformed principles of *sola scriptura*, *sola fide* and *sola gratia*. Uganda appeals to the way in which Scripture has shaped the national church in their response to the second Covenant draft. For them, the 'story of the Church of Uganda

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<sup>556</sup> St Andrews 1.2.2.

<sup>557</sup> TEC 2.6.

is one of obedience to the preaching and teaching of the gospel, according to the Bible.<sup>558</sup>

For Nigeria, ‘unfaithfulness to biblical interpretation’ is the issue at stake in the current crisis. In their response to the St. Andrew’s draft, the Anglican Church of Nigeria described themselves as ‘biblically faithful children of God’, making their faithfulness to scripture their key identity marker. They also affirmed ‘orthodox biblical teachings’ as central to Anglicanism. However, it remains unclear from their letter what is meant by ‘orthodox biblical teaching’. From the context of their response, it would seem that the basis of orthodoxy is a particular view of human sexuality.<sup>559</sup>

The Church of the Province of Myanmar (Burma) also affirmed the centrality of the bible in Anglican theology, putting biblical hermeneutics in their own context. Commenting on the words of the Nassau draft, that commits to ensuring ‘that biblical texts are handled faithfully, respectfully, comprehensively and coherently’,<sup>560</sup> Myanmar affirmed:

These terms are also debatable[;] each diocese or province would claim that it does so. For example, the majority of the Anglicans in Myanmar are illiterates they take the biblical text mostly literally and think that they handle the biblical text faithfully. So the ordinary believers usually accuse theologians and scholars as being misleading the church through their scholarly interpretation of the biblical text.<sup>561</sup>

In a simple and succinct way, Myanmar has touched on one of the most fundamental challenges in contemporary Anglicanism. As pointed out by Martyn Percy, ‘Anglicans all agree what the Bible says, we just don’t always agree on what it means.’<sup>562</sup> In a Communion boasting such enormous cultural diversity, where the role of the laity in

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<sup>558</sup> Uganda 2.3.

<sup>559</sup> Nigeria 2.1.

<sup>560</sup> Nassau 3.3.

<sup>561</sup> Myanmar 1.1.

<sup>562</sup> Martyn Percy, ‘Diversity not divorce: Anglicans must aim for a broad church if they can’t agree’, *The Conversation*, (September 18, 2015). In: <http://theconversation.com/diversity-not-divorce-anglicans-must-aim-for-a-broad-church-if-they-cant-agree-47724> Accessed 8 November 2015.

interpreting Scripture is encouraged and celebrated, and where lay people have such different levels of education, this challenge is magnified.

In Britain, the contribution of the Church in Wales to this aspect of biblical hermeneutics was significant, even if it was disregarded by the Covenant Design Group (CDG). Wales, in responding to the first Covenant draft, accepted that '[w]e may need the 'best scholarship', but we also need the insights of the poor, powerless and marginalised.'<sup>563</sup> Here, the voice and experience of the people, especially of those who have no voice and no power in society or in the church, are affirmed as core values in the hermeneutical process. In doing so, Wales is subtly and implicitly introducing a new element in the three-party conversation of 'Scripture-reason-tradition', namely human 'experience'.

The most forceful critique to the first draft, however, came from the CofE. The English church made clear the need 'to be a section in the Introduction that sets out the distinctive Anglican theological method.'<sup>564</sup> They explained what they meant by such method:

Anglican theological method is rooted in the teaching of Holy Scripture, 'the fountain and well of truth,' containing all things necessary to salvation and constituting the rule and ultimate standard of faith, and recognizes the need for a communal reading of Scripture that is informed by biblical scholarship. It gives due weight to the witness to divine truth borne by the created order and the Catholic tradition [...]. It involves the use of reason, renewed by the Holy Spirit.<sup>565</sup>

Alongside Scripture, tradition and reason, other elements are included here. In practice, the Bible is read corporately, by the Christian community, and ought to be informed by academic research and findings. This method recognizes that divine truth is present not just in Scripture and tradition, but in the natural or created order. Finally, the method involves human reason, yet a reason that is renewed by the Spirit (pneumatological

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<sup>563</sup> Wales 1.2.

<sup>564</sup> England 1.12.

<sup>565</sup> England 1.16.

dimension). All these elements, as pointed out in chapter 3, are present in Hooker's conversational hermeneutics.

From the various responses to the Covenant drafts, one can observe a diversity of emphases on one or more elements of the Anglican theological method. With the exception of Southern Africa, on the whole, it is Western Anglo-Saxon churches, such as England, Wales, Scotland and the United States, that affirm Hooker's triad. On the other hand, only non-Western churches of a particular evangelical tradition insist on affirming the supremacy of Scripture, interpreted either literally or within a conservative, in their own words, 'orthodox', framework. The diversity of emphases on approaching theological reflection across the Communion reflects the wide range of cultural, historical and theological contexts within contemporary Anglicanism.

*(b) The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral*

The Quadrilateral as a statement of Anglican identity appeared in a recognizable form only from the second Covenant draft. In the first draft, Scripture, creeds and sacraments were listed in the opening section of the document (section 2), with a reference to 'the apostolic mission of the whole people of God'<sup>566</sup> and to bishops, only implicitly, by virtue of acknowledging the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>567</sup> The role of bishops was affirmed at a later stage in the document (section 5). TEC objected to this disconnect between the first three articles and the fourth one with these words:

We further welcome the affirmation of the first three articles of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, namely: [...] Holy Scriptures. [...] the creeds, and two sacraments, [...]. We note that the fourth item of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, the embrace of the historic episcopate locally adapted, has been moved to Section 5 [...]. We do not believe that this separating out of bishops from the discussion of our core beliefs and linking it to the discussion of the

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<sup>566</sup> Nassau 2.4.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid. 2.5.

Instruments of Communion is helpful. We believe the idea of episcopacy should be introduced in this section, reflecting its importance to our Anglican identity.<sup>568</sup>

The Anglican Church of Australia also asked for a clearer reference to the Lambeth Quadrilateral. They suggested ‘that the points listed in Section 2 be amended to reflect the content and ordering of the Lambeth Quadrilateral more transparently.’<sup>569</sup> This, according to them, would make it ‘easier to win support for the covenant, especially in Australia, if it is clearly adding nothing new.’<sup>570</sup> They later asserted that, ‘[i]t would be helpful if express reference were made, by foot-note or in some other way, to the Lambeth Quadrilateral and the connection between it and the text of this section.’<sup>571</sup>

The recommendations by TEC and Australia were taken into account by the CDG. The second and third drafts, as well as the final Covenant, did express the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral in unequivocal terms. Scripture, creeds, sacraments *and* ‘the historic episcopate’, were listed in the opening section of the document as a shared affirmation of the Anglican ‘inheritance of faith’. This inclusion was celebrated not just by Western churches, but by African ones. The Anglican Church of Burundi, for example, in its response to the second draft, commends the CDG for producing a Covenant draft that ‘is based on Anglican tradition and inheritance (e.g. the Book of Common Prayer, the Lambeth Quadrilateral [...]).’<sup>572</sup>

For some of the respondents to the drafts, the Quadrilateral not only embodied the essence of Anglican ecclesiology, but it remained the primary expression of Anglican identity. Churches from North America, South America, Asia and Europe raised the issue of the need for a Covenant, when Anglicans already have the Quadrilateral. The Anglican Church of Korea made this point when they wrote:

[T]he House of Bishop of the ACK don't see much of necessity of such codified "covenant" to bind the Anglican Communion. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral has been the guidelines for Anglican churches to recognize the

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<sup>568</sup> TEC 2.3.

<sup>569</sup> Australia 1.5.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid.

<sup>571</sup> Ibid.

<sup>572</sup> Burundi 2.1.

communion that existed among Christians. When compared to the rather inclusive nature of the quadrilateral, the proposed Anglican Covenant seems far more exclusive with the danger of quickly finalizing any chance of schism. We Korean bishops believe that the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral can still serve as the basis not only for ecumenical relations but also for the relations among Anglican churches.<sup>573</sup>

The Church in Wales echoed the same sentiment when they wrote: ‘We prefer to see unity in terms of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral.’<sup>574</sup> Whilst the Brazilian church reaffirmed their ‘allegiance to the Lambeth Quadrilateral.’<sup>575</sup> In the same line, the Canadian church expressed their commitment to the Quadrilateral as an essential declaration of Anglican identity. In their response to the second Covenant draft, in relation to the question of membership of the Communion, they affirmed:

At one point in the recent history of the Communion it was said that the only way to leave the Communion was to disavow the Lambeth Quadrilateral. We have some sympathy with this understanding of what is an essential feature of our common life [...].<sup>576</sup>

Only one respondent, the Province of the Indian Ocean, questioned the sufficiency of the Quadrilateral as a statement of Anglican identity. For them, ‘[t]he instruments of Unity and the actual distinctness of the Anglican Faith and practice such as the Lambeth quadrilateral have been unable by themselves to hold the Communion together.’<sup>577</sup> Despite the latter remark by the Indian Ocean, the historic role of the Quadrilateral as an expression of Anglican identity was affirmed by most respondents either explicitly, as shown above, or implicitly, by offering no objection to its inclusion. In fact, in many ways, one could read the other doctrinal sections of the Covenant as building on, unpacking and elucidating the four articles of the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

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<sup>573</sup> Korea 2.1.

<sup>574</sup> Wales 1.6.

<sup>575</sup> Brazil 3.2.

<sup>576</sup> Canada 2.10.

<sup>577</sup> Indian Ocean 2.2.

(c) *Lex orandi, lex credendi vs. confessionalism*

A key identity marker of Anglicanism not affirmed by the Quadrilateral is its liturgical tradition. This is often described by the Latin phrase, *lex orandi, lex credendi*, explored in previous chapters, which may be translated as: ‘the rule of prayer is the rule of belief’. In other words, ‘we express what we believe through the words (and liturgies) that we pray’. For many, this affirmation distinguishes Anglicanism from other Protestant Christian churches that define themselves through confessional statements. Anglicans, the argument goes, do not have a confession of faith, like Lutheran or Reformed bodies do, apart from the confession of the ecumenical creeds, shared by all Christians.

The Covenant drafts raised major concerns for many provinces on this front for two reasons. One, because it was regarded by some as an attempt to fabricate and impose a confessional type of Anglicanism, alien to Anglican history and tradition. And two, because it did not sufficiently affirm the Anglican liturgical heritage and the principle of the *lex orandi*.

The perceived confessional nature of the Covenant drafts was challenged by Anglicans from all continents. The Hong Kong church affirmed that a ‘credal document would be received by many members of HKSKH as incompatible with Anglican tradition.’<sup>578</sup> Brazil agreed that ‘there has never been a normative statement of faith binding each of the national churches in the Anglican Communion.’<sup>579</sup> And Wales recognized in the first Covenant draft, ‘the elements of a Confessional church,’<sup>580</sup> and warns against the danger of ‘becoming *Confessio Anglicana*.’<sup>581</sup>

All the above statements have to be placed against the backdrop, not just of the non-confessionalism of historic Anglicanism, but of the recent attempts to create a confessional Anglican identity by some conservative Anglicans in the Communion. The statements of Global South national churches, GAFCON and the Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans point in this direction.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> Hong Kong 1.1

<sup>579</sup> Brazil 3.2.

<sup>580</sup> Wales 1.2.

<sup>581</sup> Wales 1.3.

<sup>582</sup> See ‘The Jerusalem Declaration’ in: <http://fca.net/> Accessed 4 December 2014.

The *lex orandi* principle, fundamental for many in articulating Anglican identity and ecclesiology, seemed explicitly absent from the first two Covenant drafts. The Korean House of Bishops felt ‘uncomfortable with the fact that the drafters of the Covenant ignore[d] the place of worship and liturgy in defining Anglican unity.’<sup>583</sup> For Canada, the ‘Anglican identity of worship and prayer’ had been ‘given inadequate expression in [...] the Covenant document.’<sup>584</sup> And the CofE asked for ‘a section in the Introduction that sets out [...] the distinctiveness and importance of the Anglican liturgical tradition.’<sup>585</sup>

The West Indies raised a similar concern twice, in response to the first and second Covenant drafts. This province recommended the inclusion in section 2 of the draft, of an explicit reference to liturgy as an identity marker in the context of mission. For the West Indies, the Covenant should affirm that: ‘In this mission, which is the Mission of Christ, we commit ourselves [...] to promote and encourage worship at all levels of the church.’<sup>586</sup> In the response to the St. Andrew’s draft, again asked for the ‘inclusion of worship in the ‘marks’ of mission.’<sup>587</sup> This recommendation was eventually taken on board by the CDG and incorporated into the third Covenant draft in 2009.

The significance of the *lex orandi* was also affirmed by others in Africa, Europe and North America. TEC spoke for many in the Communion when it stated that, ‘[i]n our lives together, we delight in a particular love of liturgical worship and the sacramental life of the church in all its various expressions.’<sup>588</sup> In its response to the second draft, they asked for an explicit inclusion of the phrase ‘*lex orandi, lex credendi*’ as a marker of Anglican identity.<sup>589</sup> This was not acknowledged by the Design Group. In a similar fashion, England affirmed the ‘Anglican acceptance of the ancient principle *lex orandi, lex credendi* [...], in the sense that for Anglicans what is contained in their liturgies has a central role in articulating and defining their common faith and practice.’<sup>590</sup> This was also echoed by West Africa, when in its response to the first draft stated that:

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<sup>583</sup> Korea 2.1

<sup>584</sup> Canada 2.7.

<sup>585</sup> England 1.12.

<sup>586</sup> West Indies 1.4.

<sup>587</sup> Ibid. 2.2.

<sup>588</sup> TEC 1.1.

<sup>589</sup> Ibid. 2.7.

<sup>590</sup> England 1.18.



Of all the Reformation traditions, Anglicanism was essentially a liturgical renewal. Hence the prominence of BCP in our life together. In a sense the Covenant is our covenanting to worship together. Our interest in worship also puts the emphasis on shared spirituality. It is not about religious camps (politics).<sup>591</sup>

The West African response was both an affirmation of the *lex orandi* and an implicit rejection of a politically driven confessionalism. The appeal to a ‘shared spirituality’, as an expression of unity and koinonia also came from other national churches, including Korea<sup>592</sup> and Brazil.<sup>593</sup> It is this notion of communion that I will explore below.

**(d) *Koinoia, unity and diversity***

The articulation of the Anglican understanding of communion, or koinonia, is particularly significant in the process of drafting the Covenant and in the responses to the various drafts. The nature of communion is explained, theologically, at several levels: in Trinitarian terms, as the Church partakes in the communion of the Trinity;<sup>594</sup> in pneumatological terms, koinonia results from the action of the Holy Spirit and is ‘nurtured by the Spirit’;<sup>595</sup> in Christological terms, communion among Christians is born out of the Easter event and the encounter with the risen Christ,<sup>596</sup> and seeks to ‘deepen koinonia with Christ’<sup>597</sup>; in sacramental terms, it is connected with the shared baptism and expressed through eucharistic fellowship.<sup>598</sup>

The emphasis, on all the above, is on koinonia being primarily ‘an expression of relationship’;<sup>599</sup> spiritual, human, sacramental relationship. It is for this reason, among others, that some provinces warned against the perceived tendency in the Covenant drafts of promoting a structural rather than a relational Communion.<sup>600</sup> The so-called ‘bonds of affection’, in classic Anglicanism, are at the heart of the specifically Anglican

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<sup>591</sup> West Africa 1.1

<sup>592</sup> Korea 2.2.

<sup>593</sup> Brazil 3.2.3.

<sup>594</sup> England 1.2.

<sup>595</sup> Brazil 2.2; Australia 1.3.

<sup>596</sup> Brazil 2.2.

<sup>597</sup> Burundi 2.1.

<sup>598</sup> Korea 2.2; TEC 2.10.

<sup>599</sup> Australia 3.1; Portugal 1.1.

<sup>600</sup> Wales 1.1; Australia 3.1.

understanding and experience of communion. This notion appears for the first time in the third and final draft of the covenant.<sup>601</sup> As the Anglican Episcopal Church of Brazil points out, it is ‘the ecclesiological and affective dimensions that have been the historical mark of our mutual interdependence.’<sup>602</sup>

The Covenant drafts, however, pay little attention to a theological description of *koinonia*. The first two drafts simply affirmed that ‘communion is a gift of God: that His people from east and west, north and south may *together* declare his glory and be a sign of God’s Reign.’<sup>603</sup> One has to wait until the third draft to find a somewhat clumsy trinitarian reference. The text is expounded as follows: ‘God’s Reign in the Holy Spirit and the first fruits in the world of God’s redemption in Christ.’<sup>604</sup> The main focus of the drafts and the final Covenant is on how *koinonia* is lived out in practice, and the implications of the ‘bonds of affection’ in contemporary Anglicanism.<sup>605</sup> These are expressed in relational, structural and legal terms, and will be explored below under the section on ‘authority’.

Associated with the idea of communion are the notions of unity and diversity, often described as ‘diversity within unity’. The tension between these two elements mirrors the tensions between two other elements: autonomy and interdependence. In other words, autonomy is an ecclesiological implication of diversity, whilst interdependence affirms the ecclesiological dimension of unity. This is yet another identity mark of Anglicanism in which the creative tension between two opposites remains unresolved.

In analysing the responses to the Covenant drafts it becomes evident that, whilst most national churches affirm both aspects of *koinonia*,<sup>606</sup> in some cases provincial responses tend to place a weightier emphasis on one or the other. By extension, they

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<sup>601</sup> Ridley 3.2.7.

<sup>602</sup> Brazil 2.1.

<sup>603</sup> Nassau 4.1; St. Andrew’s 2.1.1.

<sup>604</sup> Ridley 2.1.1.

<sup>605</sup> St. Andrew’s 3.1.2, 3.2.6; Ridley 3.1.2, 3.2.7

<sup>606</sup> This is the case of: Australia, Burundi, Brazil, Canada, England, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, USA, Wales and West Indies. For the Lusitanian Church, for example, ‘the richness of Anglicanism lies in its diversity lived in conciliar unity.’ Portugal 1.2

therefore tend to define communion as primarily to do with the maintenance of unity,<sup>607</sup> or with the celebration of diversity.<sup>608</sup>

Unity is affirmed by all respondents in a number of ways. The Anglican Church of Nigeria affirmed ‘its commitment to initiatives that would enhance the unity of the Communion.’<sup>609</sup> The condition for unity, according to Nigeria, would be based on their understanding of ‘orthodox biblical teachings and our cherished Anglican heritage.’<sup>610</sup> For Hong Kong, ‘[t]he core of unity must rest upon Jesus Christ our Lord.’<sup>611</sup> The Anglican Church of Korea affirms ‘that Christian unity is more celebrated in baptism and the eucharist, and that defining unity in the sacramental spirituality rather than anything is more Anglican.’<sup>612</sup> For Brazil, the shared ‘history and the instruments we have are already sufficient to build unity.’<sup>613</sup> Japan, goes further and warns the Communion that: ‘We are afraid that this kind of covenant would change the nature of our relationship in the Anglican Communion from [one] of unity in diversity into [one] of uniformity and exclusion.’<sup>614</sup>

This concern was also raised by other national churches who value diversity. For TEC, ‘[c]oncern was raised that unity not be seen as uniformity.’<sup>615</sup> For Southern Africa, ‘[m]ore work needs to be done on diversity and unity and we should not fear where an inclusive Church would take us.’<sup>616</sup> The Anglican Church of Canada affirms that their understanding of unity statements such as ‘common mind’ or ‘common standards of faith’ mean ‘a range of acceptable positions’ and ‘a range of practices that fall within the broadest standards of belief as articulated by the Lambeth Quadrilateral.’<sup>617</sup> Canada stresses that, ‘[t]hese positions are not reached arbitrarily, but through consultation, prayer and testing with clergy and laity.’<sup>618</sup>

A number of churches expressed concerns regarding the implications of a Covenant that would define unity as uniformity, undermining the importance of

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<sup>607</sup> Cf. Burundi 2.1; Nigeria 2.1.

<sup>608</sup> Cf. Hong Kong 1.1.

<sup>609</sup> Nigeria 2.1.

<sup>610</sup> Ibid.

<sup>611</sup> Hong Kong 1.2.

<sup>612</sup> Korea 2.2.

<sup>613</sup> Brazil 2.2.

<sup>614</sup> Japan 2.1.

<sup>615</sup> TEC 2.5.

<sup>616</sup> South Africa 1.4

<sup>617</sup> Canada 2.9.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid.

diversity. The Lusitanian Church affirmed: ‘we have many reservations on the draft text for the Anglican Covenant [...], as it might lead to the extinction of the richness of diversity that characterizes the Anglican Communion.’<sup>619</sup> The Portuguese also warned against ‘the explicit determination to point a standard vision of morality as the main point of unity in the Communion.’<sup>620</sup> Hong Kong too echoed these concerns and highlighted the serious implications that this approach would have on their life as a church. For them, ‘[a] covenant, if allowed to impose a prescribed, monochrome reflection of perceived truth, ecclesiastical correctness and accepted behaviour, would seriously undermine communal tolerance.’<sup>621</sup> The latter statement is connected with Hong Kong’s unique history, experience and understanding of unity in diversity. However, the concern was shared by many across the Communion in the Covenant drafting process.

One of the preferred images used to describe the dimensions of unity and diversity in the Anglican Communion was that of ‘family’. This was a recurring metaphor in many of the responses to the Covenant drafts, and a means to describe also the nature of *koinonia*. The Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and the Polynesia, in this respect asserted that, ‘[f]rom a Three Tikanga Church perspective, Christian identity and communion are held together by a sense of extended family or *whanaungatanga*, and this is intrinsic to our life together and is in fact the real covenant.’<sup>622</sup> For the Lusitanian Church, the Anglican Communion is ‘a conciliar family [...] that seeks unity in the acceptance of diversity and maintains bounds of affection between the churches within the mutual respect of their own autonomy.’<sup>623</sup> The missional dimension of the Communion is also asserted by Portugal in their description of global Anglicanism ‘as a true family of churches in the service of the mission of Jesus Christ in the diversity of mankind.’<sup>624</sup> For Hong Kong too, the Anglican Communion is ‘essentially a family of “adult” churches.’<sup>625</sup> The qualification of ‘adult’ in this statement is significant in the Communion’s post-colonial context. Finally, the Church in Wales

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<sup>619</sup> Portugal 1.2.

<sup>620</sup> Ibid. 1.1.

<sup>621</sup> Hong Kong 1.1.

<sup>622</sup> New Zealand 1.3.

<sup>623</sup> Portugal 1.1.

<sup>624</sup> Ibid. 1.2.

<sup>625</sup> Hong Kong 1.2.

offers a definition of the Anglican Communion in similar terms, as ‘a family of churches, within the Catholic Church of Christ, maintaining apostolic doctrine and order and in full communion with one another and with the See of Canterbury.’<sup>626</sup>

Family, as an ecclesiological metaphor, affirms oneness and diversity, but above all stresses relationship. In the Anglican Communion these relationships are formal, through international structures such as the ‘Instruments of Communion’, and organic, through individuals, communities and networks that are involved in global mission initiatives. It is the notion of mission as an identity marker that I now turn to.

(e) *The Missio Dei*

Contemporary Anglicanism is the result, as pointed out in chapter 5, partly of the work carried out by British missionary societies from the eighteenth century. Mission has been in the DNA of the Communion since its inception. The 1963 Toronto Anglican Congress, as shown above, laid the foundations for shared and coordinated missionary work across the Communion. The resulting document, *Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ*,<sup>627</sup> stated among other things the commitment to sharing resources in mission. This commitment, in practice, has materialized in many ways: through the way resources are gathered and allocated in the, albeit small, Anglican Communion budget; through local churches and dioceses entering into partnership with other churches or dioceses from other parts of the Communion; and through bilateral and multilateral agreements between provinces.

It is no surprise, therefore, that both the Covenant drafts and the responses of many national churches placed a particular emphasis on mission as a core dimension of contemporary Anglican identity. In all three drafts and the final Covenant, the *Five Marks of Mission*, discussed in chapter 5, play a prominent role.<sup>628</sup> The drafts of the Covenant affirmed that Anglicans participate ‘in the apostolic mission of the whole people of God, and that this mission is shared with other Churches and traditions’<sup>629</sup> (ecumenical dimension); that an aspect of mission is to ‘enable God’s people to respond

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<sup>626</sup> Wales 2.3.

<sup>627</sup> In: [http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/toronto\\_mutual1963.html](http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/toronto_mutual1963.html) Accessed 4 December 2014.

<sup>628</sup> Cf. Nassau 4.2-5; St. Andrew’s 2.1-2; Ridley 2.1-2.

<sup>629</sup> Nassau 2.4 & 4.2; St. Andrew’s 1.1.6 & 2.1.3; Ridley 1.1.8. & 2.1.5.

in courageous witness to the power of the gospel in the world'<sup>630</sup> (evangelistic dimension); that the history of the development of the Anglican Communion is deeply connected with 'the expanding missionary work of the Church'<sup>631</sup> (historic dimension); and that in the twenty first century Anglicans 'embrace challenges and opportunities for mission at local, regional, and international levels. In this, we cherish our faith and mission heritage as offering Anglicans distinctive opportunities for mission collaboration.'<sup>632</sup> The latter dimension reflects the ongoing partnership initiatives mentioned above. In all three Covenant drafts, bishops are defined as 'leaders in mission'.<sup>633</sup> Their role, in the last two drafts is expanded as involving and calling 'all the baptised into the mission of Christ',<sup>634</sup> highlighting the horizontal nature of Anglican ecclesiology. The Instruments of Communion too are described as assisting 'in the discernment, articulation and exercise of our shared [...] mission.'<sup>635</sup>

Finally, and this is where the Covenant reveals its true purpose, national churches are to restrain themselves from actions or innovations that may 'threaten the effectiveness or credibility' of the mission of other national churches in their own jurisdictions.<sup>636</sup> This latter aspect, the missional repercussions of the unilateral actions of certain national churches upon other churches in the Communion, has been a recurring one in the crisis over human sexuality. Even the archbishop of Canterbury has used this argument, echoing some African leaders, to encourage the Church of England to refrain from supporting equal marriage in England.<sup>637</sup>

This emphasis on mission has also been expressed by many national churches in their responses to the drafts. The Province of the Indian Ocean affirmed the Trinitarian nature of mission and importance of advancing 'together for the expansion of God's Mission in

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<sup>630</sup> St. Andrew's 1.2.5; Ridley 1.2.6.

<sup>631</sup> Nassau 4.1; St. Andrew's 2.1.1; Ridley 2.1.2.

<sup>632</sup> Nassau 4.2; St. Andrew's 2.1.2; Ridley 2.1.4.

<sup>633</sup> Nassau 5.1; St. Andrew's 3.1.3; Ridley 3.1.3.

<sup>634</sup> St. Andrew's 3.1.3; Ridley 3.1.3.

<sup>635</sup> St. Andrew's 3.1.4; Ridley 3.1.4. See also the description of the Instruments of Communion in all three drafts.

<sup>636</sup> Nassau 6.4; St. Andrew's 3.2.5; Ridley 3.2.5.

<sup>637</sup> In a radio interview on 4 April 2014, the archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, told LBC that 'the Church of England embracing same sex marriage could lead to the persecution and murder of Christians elsewhere in the world.' See: <http://www.lbc.co.uk/archbishop-gay-marriage-could-mean-murder-of-african-christians-88469> Accessed 4 December 2014.

the world, according to Anglican spirituality.’<sup>638</sup> For the West Indies, the missionary nature of the church is central to its identity: ‘the Church is mission in the sense of defining herself by mission.’<sup>639</sup>

Building on the latter argument, North American Anglicans would like ‘the call to common mission’ to effectively become ‘the central organizing principle of the covenant.’<sup>640</sup> Whilst some in South America believe that ‘the Communion needs, instead of a pact (Covenant), a joint commitment through which the missionary nature of the Church is reasserted.’<sup>641</sup> This sentiment is echoed by the Korean church, when they affirm that ‘positively moving toward common mission [...] is rather more crucial to the unity of the Anglican Communion.’<sup>642</sup> For USA Anglicans too, mission should be at the heart of any covenant:

Many in The Episcopal Church would prefer to see a covenant based largely on the terms of the Covenant for Communion in Mission. This, they believe, would create an Anglican covenant based on relationship rather than structure and more appropriately focus on the missional nature of our interdependence.<sup>643</sup>

This statement by TEC is significant for two reasons. First, because it is consistent with the 1963 Toronto Anglican Congress language of ‘interdependence’ in missiological terms. As pointed out above, recent Anglican statements have departed from the original sense of interdependence, and have changed its meaning to include mutual accountability. Secondly, because TEC has in recent times developed or renewed missional partnerships with the Anglican churches of Burundi, Central Africa, Southern Africa, Tanzania, and West Africa, in an attempt to build relationships of interdependence that are centred on mission.<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>638</sup> The French language original reads: ‘pour avancer ensemble pour l’avancement de la Mission de Dieu dans le monde selon la spiritualité Anglicane.’ Indian Ocean 3.1.

<sup>639</sup> West Indies 2.1.

<sup>640</sup> Canada 1.3.

<sup>641</sup> Brazil 3.5.

<sup>642</sup> Korea 2.2.

<sup>643</sup> TEC 2.2.

<sup>644</sup> See the Communiqué issued by African and USA bishops and primates on 30 October 2014: <http://www.anglicannews.org/news/2014/10/episcopal-church,-african-primates,-bishops-issue-communique.aspx> Accessed 4 December 2014.

In conclusion, the *missio Dei* is affirmed by the Covenant drafts and respondents as an identity marker of Anglicanism, but also as a means of koinonia, shared life, that reaches out beyond the Anglican Communion to other Christian churches. It is this ecumenical dimension that I now turn to.

*(f) The ecumenical vocation*

Anglicanism has, since its inception, had a clear ecumenical vocation. This was true in the sixteenth century during the tumultuous process of the European Reformation, and continued to be the case until the nineteenth century, when new attempts were made to increase ecumenical links with Lutherans in Europe. In the twentieth century, the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 set a new tone in ecumenical relations among Protestants. This gathering of churches from across many denominations sought to affirm Christian (Protestant) unity on the mission field. This event marked the beginning of the contemporary ecumenical movement, which eventually gave birth to the World Council of Churches in 1948. Anglicans played a very prominent role in the development of the ecumenical movement from the outset. Their commitment to ecumenical dialogue, as shown in chapter 5, has yielded much fruit in recent decades.

Ecumenical relations are complex. The intensity and fruitfulness of specific conversations with individual churches vary, depending on who is in charge, and on their appetite for unity. Anglicans have embarked on theological and ecclesiological discussions with Roman Catholics, Old Catholics, Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, and Reformed churches around the world. National and international bilateral or multilateral commissions have produced really valuable documents and statements, reflecting on doctrine, ministry and mission.<sup>645</sup> In some cases, as pointed out in previous chapters, these have led to Anglicans and other churches entering into full communion. Whether in communion or not, the relationship between

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<sup>645</sup> The Anglican Communion Office lists 179 ecumenical documents in its archive. The most recent and significant ecumenical statements include: 'Mary: grace and hope in Christ.' Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission, ARCIC II. Seattle 2005; 'Christology: Agreed Statement by the Anglican-Oriental Orthodox International Commission.' Cairo, Egypt 13–17 October 2014; 'Into All the World: Being and Becoming Apostolic Churches. A report to the Anglican Consultative Council and the World Methodist Council.' Anglican-Methodist International Commission for Unity in Mission AMICUM 2014; See: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/resources/document-library.aspx?subject=Ecumenism> Accessed 8 November 2015.



Anglican churches and their ecumenical partners, has been very high on the theological agenda. This was present in the Covenant drafting process from the beginning. The original recommendation in the Windsor Report contained an aspiration for a future Covenant to play a significant role ecumenically. They affirmed:

A Covenant incarnates communion as a visible foundation around which Anglicans can gather to shape and protect their distinctive identity and mission, and in so doing also provides an accessible resource for our ecumenical partners in their understanding of Anglicanism.<sup>646</sup>

This twofold emphasis, of the Covenant fulfilling both inter-Anglican and ecumenical functions, was questioned by some and affirmed by others in their responses. The Church of Ireland welcomed this dimension of the document with the words:

We believe that a Covenant could assist the Anglican Communion in so far as it would set forth, in a relatively formal way, what we understand the nature of our common faith and identity as Anglicans to be; it would be an attempt to make explicit what until now has been implicit for Anglicans and could also assist us in our ecumenical dialogue.<sup>647</sup>

Others, however, saw the ecumenical emphasis as unhelpful. The Anglican Church of Australia, in their response to the third draft criticized the fact that, '[p]erhaps the hope that this might in future be used as a tool in ecumenical dialogues has led to an overly broad phrasing which needs to be more closely defined in the first instance.'<sup>648</sup> For Australia, the Covenant's 'primary function of supporting the internal relationships within the Anglican Communion must take priority over this ecumenical agenda.'<sup>649</sup> A similar view was articulated by the Anglican Episcopal Church of Brazil, who questioned using the Covenant as an ecumenical document. For them, some sections of the Ridley

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<sup>646</sup> WR, 49.

<sup>647</sup> Ireland 2.1.

<sup>648</sup> Australia 3.6.

<sup>649</sup> Ibid. 3.1.

draft, ‘for lack of clarity, [open] the possibility for other Christian confessions to join the Covenant, which then ceases to be specifically Anglican and becomes ecumenical.’<sup>650</sup>

Another significant question raised by a number of respondents to the drafts, was the impact that the Covenant would have on existing ecumenical relations. The Anglican Church of Canada, in their response to the second draft discussed the problems that the Covenant ‘may cause for interfaith and ecumenical relations and dialogues.’<sup>651</sup> For them:

Although the draft acknowledges the mission of the Anglican Communion as being part of the Mission of the Christian church as a whole, it is not clear how the Covenant will affect ongoing bilateral and communion wide dialogue with Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches.<sup>652</sup>

The Hong Kong Anglican Church too, raised concerns about how the Covenant would affect their ecumenical ‘relationships with [...] the leaders of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (the only registered post-denominational Protestant Church in China).’<sup>653</sup>

The Church of England, on the other hand, urged the CDG to make explicit in the drafts the ecumenical repercussions of some of the controversial actions that had led to the Covenant process. In their response to the first draft, they asked for ‘a reference to matters which threaten our ecumenical relationships.’<sup>654</sup> The proposed wording was: ‘...in matters which threaten the unity of the Communion, our fellowship with other churches and the effectiveness of our mission.’<sup>655</sup> This idea was repeated in their responses to the second and third drafts, but was not integrated into the Covenant text.<sup>656</sup>

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<sup>650</sup> Brazil 3.4.

<sup>651</sup> Canada 2.3.

<sup>652</sup> Ibid.

<sup>653</sup> Hong Kong 1.3.

<sup>654</sup> England 1.12-13.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid.

<sup>656</sup> ‘We are called into communion with one another and this means mutual accountability – not only within the Anglican Communion, but also with our ecumenical partners.’ England 2.12.

‘It has been suggested that a provision for withdrawing from the Covenant is necessary to cover situations in which covenanting churches need to withdraw from the Covenant in order to enter into new forms of ecumenical relationship that would be incompatible with Covenant membership. However, this suggestion overlooks the point that a covenanting church ought not to enter into a new ecumenical relationship incompatible with its existing commitment to the Covenant. Provision should not be made for something that a church ought not to do.’ England 3.13

The successive drafts, however, gradually included more references to the ecumenical context. From the second draft, the Preamble acknowledged the place of the Anglican Communion within the wider universal Church. In the Ridley draft, two further ecumenical statements were made. Firstly, it affirmed the commitment by the covenanting churches:

to teach and act in continuity and consonance with Scripture and the catholic and apostolic faith, order and tradition, as received by the Churches of the Anglican Communion, mindful of the common councils of the Communion and our ecumenical agreements.<sup>657</sup>

The reference to ‘ecumenical agreements’ raises other issues. Anglicans have signed ecumenical agreements with a number of Christian churches throughout the world. In Asia, Anglicans are fully integrated in the United Churches of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, which are fully ecumenical. In North America and Europe, they are in full communion with Lutherans. On the whole, Western Lutheran churches are dealing with similar issues to Western Anglicans. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, for example, a member of the Porvoo Communion, officially endorsed marriage equality through their archbishop, Kari Mäkinen.<sup>658</sup> This does not seem to have affected the ecumenical agreements signed between this national church and other Lutheran and Anglican churches in Europe. Ecumenical agreements are respectful of the contexts of the signatory churches, and their role is not to police or interfere in the legitimate changes that individual national churches may embrace. The unqualified appeal to these agreements is therefore somewhat irrelevant in the context of the Covenant.

The second significant affirmation in Ridley was ‘the ecumenical vocation of Anglicanism to the full visible unity of the Church in accordance with Christ’s prayer that “all may be one”.’<sup>659</sup> This statement appears in the context of the common mission ‘shared with other Churches and traditions beyond the Covenant.’<sup>660</sup> And it is consistent

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<sup>657</sup> St. Andrew’s 1.2.1; Ridley 1.2.1; TAC 1.2.1.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/thousands-quit-lutheran-church-in-finland-after-its-archbishop-came-out-in-favour-of-samesex-marriage-9896339.html> Accessed 14 December 2014.

<sup>659</sup> Ridley 2.1.5.

<sup>660</sup> Ibid.

with the aspirational statement earlier in the draft, of seeking eucharistic communion as they ‘strive under God for the fuller realization of the communion of all Christians.’<sup>661</sup>

Finally, there was another way in which the Covenant drafts and final document reflected the ecumenical context, that is, in the use of ecumenical statements as part of the text. The clearest example is in the introductory section, which lays out a profoundly Trinitarian theology of the church. Much of the text in this section, at the suggestion of the CofE,<sup>662</sup> was borrowed from ‘The Cyprus Statement’ of the International Commission for Anglican Orthodox Theological Dialogue.<sup>663</sup>

**(g) *Adiaphora and provisionality***

The notion of *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda* has been central to Anglicanism since its inception. The visible expressions of this Reformation principle are the twofold appeal to adiaphora and provisionality. These have enabled national churches to engage in creative and contextual theological reflection, which have eventually led to change and innovation. Likewise, both ideas have been at the heart of the recent Anglican Communion crisis. The lack of agreement on what is adiaphora, and on who has the authority to define it, has been the source of much debate.

It is evident from the Covenant drafts and responses that there seems to be no consensus on the principle of provisionality either. From the documents analysed, one observes two distinct emphases in defining provisionality. The first, present in the drafts and final Covenant, could be described as ‘ecclesiological provisionality’. Anglicans recognize that the current state of the Church Universal is a provisional state, until the Church Catholic is fully united, and in expectation of the *parousia* or second coming of Christ, when the Church will find its true fulfilment. The former idea is expressed in the Covenant drafts with the words: ‘as we strive under God for the fuller realization of the communion of all Christians.’<sup>664</sup> Whereas the reference to the *parousia* is implicit in the words: ‘together with all God’s people to attain the full stature of Christ.’<sup>665</sup> The Church

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<sup>661</sup> Ibid. 1.2.7.

<sup>662</sup> England 1.2.

<sup>663</sup> *The Church of the Triune God*, The Cyprus Statement of the International Commission for Anglican Orthodox Theological Dialogue, 2007, paragraph 1.2.

<sup>664</sup> St. Andrew’s 1.2.3; Ridley 1.2.7.

<sup>665</sup> Preambles in: Nassau, St. Andrew’s and Ridley.

in Wales summed up this notion in their response to the second draft, affirming that ‘[i]n some ways we are a provisional church as we await not only unification into the “great church” inclusive of all Christians, but also the fulfilment of all things in Christ (*eschaton*).’<sup>666</sup> There is little disagreement about this aspect of provisionality amongst Anglicans.

The second aspect, highlighted especially in the responses, could be described as ‘doctrinal provisionality’. This acknowledges human fallibility and the fact that human perception of the truth is a developing matter. It affirms the need to be in a constant process of reform (*semper reformanda*), and the possibility of change in doctrinal and ethical views. As a result, it encourages ‘innovative and creative insights.’<sup>667</sup> TEC speaks for many in the Communion when it says that, ‘Anglicans embrace a provisionality that argues for freedom in non-essential matters and humility in those matters where faithful Christians may err.’<sup>668</sup>

The emphasis on doctrinal provisionality and the possibility of innovation is not unique to the Anglo-Saxon world. It is also affirmed by the Province of Southern Africa, for whom, the Covenant, ‘while upholding moral values, it must ensure the flexibility for continuing growth and development of Anglican Tradition.’<sup>669</sup> This contrasts with the less dynamic view held by conservative Anglicans in other parts of Africa and the world. The Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans, in particular, stands on the other end of this argument, affirming traditional ethical values and a particular understanding of doctrinal orthodoxy, whilst being extremely suspicious of any innovation that may undermine them. This is paradoxical in the light of the reformed tradition many of them appeal to, rooted in the *semper reformanda*. There is complete silence on either provisionality or adiaphora in their responses. This is also a reflection of both the relatively few and short responses offered by Global South provinces during the Covenant drafting process, and their lack of interest in this particular identity marker.

Doctrinal provisionality is deeply intertwined with the notion of adiaphora, as it recognizes that what is regarded as an essential truth today may not be so tomorrow.

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<sup>666</sup> Wales 2.1-2.

<sup>667</sup> New Zealand 1.4.

<sup>668</sup> USA 1.1.

<sup>669</sup> South Africa 1.3

Hong Kong, in their response to the first Covenant draft, raised this issue and offered an example taken from their own ecclesial history:

The issue of the place of women as leaders in the Church presents an example of great significance in Hong Kong. In 1944 the late Revd Florence Li Tim-oi was the first woman to be ordained in the Anglican Communion. In Lambeth Palace that pastoral initiative in southern China context attracted vehement disapproval. Anglican women priests, numbers 2 and 3, were ‘properly’ ordained in Hong Kong in 1971. What was new and controversial was, within a generation, found to be desirable and legitimate by a large part of the Church around the world.<sup>670</sup>

Despite the significance of both adiaphora and provisionality in Anglican thought and praxis, these words are not employed in any of the Covenant drafts, nor in the final document. Australia highlighted this issue in their response to the first draft, noting that the document ‘does not use the language of ‘reception’, ‘adiaphora’, ‘provisionality’ and ‘subsidiarity’ and perhaps it is helpful that it does not do so.’<sup>671</sup> However, they also reminded the CDG, that ‘some way must be found of enunciating the substance of those principles in clear, unambiguous language.’<sup>672</sup> The language found to describe provisionality has been pointed out above. The principle of adiaphora was much less clearly defined.

The first draft used a number of phrases to avoid a direct reference to adiaphora: ‘essential matters of common concern’,<sup>673</sup> ‘matters of theological debate’,<sup>674</sup> ‘some issues [...] perceived as controversial’,<sup>675</sup> ‘matters of essential concern’,<sup>676</sup> ‘matters which threaten the unity’,<sup>677</sup> and ‘matters in serious dispute’.<sup>678</sup> Much of this language was found to be unhelpful and unclear by Anglicans on both sides of the debate. The Church of Uganda, for example, asked for a clearer and more explicit reference to the ‘presenting

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<sup>670</sup> Hong Kong 1.1.

<sup>671</sup> Australia 1.10.

<sup>672</sup> Ibid.

<sup>673</sup> Nassau 6.1.

<sup>674</sup> Ibid. 6.2.

<sup>675</sup> Ibid. 6.2.

<sup>676</sup> Ibid. 6.3.

<sup>677</sup> Ibid. 6.4.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid. 6.5.

issue', namely, human sexuality.<sup>679</sup> Whereas the Church in Wales affirmed the historic Anglican understanding of 'essential matters':

The notion of 'essential concern' is not clear. Anglicanism has generally held that all that is essential concerning the faith is addressed in the Creeds and that the church is at liberty in matters of rite and ceremonial. The church's authority in moral questions is balanced by its own tendency to err or to fail to distinguish what is in Scripture from what is of Scripture. In the current debates all sides consider themselves faithful to Scripture.<sup>680</sup>

The USA highlighted that in their church, there was 'anxiety as to who defines these matters.'<sup>681</sup> Polynesian Anglicans, within the Three Tikanga Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, expressed a similar concern in their response to the first draft.<sup>682</sup> Whilst the Province of Jerusalem and the Middle East asked for the Covenant 'to spell out who decides that an action falls into the definition of controversial action.'<sup>683</sup>

In the second draft, in an attempt to appease the critics whilst not upsetting the supporters of this phrase, 'matters of essential concern' were substituted by 'matters understood to be of essential concern.' However, this change did not satisfy Anglicans on either side of the Atlantic. For Canada:

[W]hat the Church regards as 'essential' changes from generation to generation. We are not sure how such definitions can be determined in our context without reference to the Anglican formularies and broad engagement with the Church. [...] Faith is dynamic; common standards of faith should always be provisional; the Spirit is at work continually transforming us.<sup>684</sup>

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<sup>679</sup> Uganda 2.4.

<sup>680</sup> Wales 1.5.

<sup>681</sup> TEC 1.5.

<sup>682</sup> 'There is concern, particularly from the Diocese of Polynesia, about who in the Communion will determine what is in 'the common good'.' New Zealand 1.3.

<sup>683</sup> Jerusalem 2.1.

<sup>684</sup> Canada 2.10.

In the British Isles, a similar statement was made by the Church in Wales, affirming provisionality:

It should allow for the possibility of movement and development in matters of doctrine, and should be a process which allows for an understanding of the truth as continually moving and evolving in the ongoing story of salvation and which at the same time remains faithful to the tradition received. In its perception of the truth every generation will inevitably create new boundaries. This could be described as the dynamic praxis which directs Anglican life.<sup>685</sup>

The third Covenant draft, taking note of Canada's submission, substituted the phrase 'essential concern' by the more generic 'matters of common concern'. This assumed that there was a common mind in the Communion as to what constitutes adiaphora and what does not. The disagreement on this fundamental principle became obvious in the responses, not just of Western national churches, but of other provinces. South Africa, in 2006, affirmed that, 'the Synod of Bishops concluded that they did not believe that differences on human sexuality were a church-dividing matter.'<sup>686</sup> Japan echoed the same view, when it wrote that, 'the NSKK does not think that unity can be manifested only if we take the same interpretation of Scripture and the same theological standpoint concerning our basic understanding of human sexuality.'<sup>687</sup> Australia too, raised a very poignant question concerning adiaphora, in their response to the third Covenant draft. They asked:

Are the elements referred to really fundamental to the life of the Anglican Communion? If they are, then all Anglican churches need to sign the Covenant. If a Church cannot enter into the Covenant and remain Anglican, then perhaps the elements are not after all fundamental?<sup>688</sup>

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<sup>685</sup> Wales 2.1.

<sup>686</sup> South Africa 2.1.

<sup>687</sup> Japan 1.4.

<sup>688</sup> Australia 3.5.



This question challenges, at a very fundamental level, the impossible task that the CDG was commissioned to do: namely, to produce a document that would affirm not just that which Anglicans hold in common, but those things upon which they disagree. As Australia reflects, if something is fundamental, it should be clearly perceived as such by all. The statements in sections 1-3 of the Covenant were broadly viewed as expressing a balanced Anglican ecclesiology. Section 4, however, was seen as problematic by some, or insufficient by others.

The drafts and final Covenant document managed to affirm the historically held markers of Anglican identity, integrating the Lambeth Quadrilateral, the Five Marks of Mission, as well as references to Hooker's method, the *lex orandi*, and the existing Instruments of Communion. They did not, however, deal with the issues of adiaphora and provisionality in a satisfactory manner. These principles were not sufficiently articulated. The presenting issue, or rather 'condensing issue', was never named. And, certain things were assumed or taken for granted, including the lack of unity on what represent 'matters of common concern'. In the drafting process, it also became clear that the diverse views on adiaphora are deeply connected with individual contexts and cultures. This will be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

#### **(h) *Authority and governance***

Central to Anglican identity is the way that national churches run their lives. At one level, it is fair to say that there is an Anglican understanding of authority and governance, common to all Anglicans. This common ecclesial praxis would include elements such as episcopal leadership, synodical government, provincial autonomy and a particular regard for the archbishop of Canterbury as *primus inter pares*. These aspects of authority and governance are shared by all Anglicans across the world. At another level, however, how each national church lives out its autonomy, synodality, or episcopacy, can vary significantly from church to church. In fact, one of the things that the Covenant drafting process has exposed is the magnitude of these internal differences.

One of the most fascinating debates that took place during the process of drafts and responses was around the role of the Instruments of Communion. The Windsor Report had already opened up the conversation and had suggested the need to review

these instruments in order to adapt them to the current situation. In section three, the Report, discussing the status of the Lambeth Conference and the Anglican Consultative Council, asked the following questions:

Which speaks with the more authoritative voice for worldwide Anglicanism? Should the Lambeth Conference, as the gathering of the chief pastors and teachers of the churches have a ‘magisterium’, a teaching authority of special status? Is the Anglican Consultative Council, as the sole instrument which has lay participation alongside ordained membership other than the episcopal order, and thus most closely resembles the synods and conventions of the provinces, more appropriately the body which can take something approaching binding decisions for the Communion? What is the relationship between the Lambeth Conference and the Primates’ Meeting?<sup>689</sup>

The language of ‘authoritative voice’, ‘magisterium’, and ‘binding decisions’ suggests a development of historic Anglican ecclesiology from a fellowship of autonomous, self-governed, national churches, to a global church with real mechanisms of authority at a Communion level. Despite the affirmation in the report, that they did not favour ‘the establishment of any kind of central ‘curia’ for the Communion’, this seemed at odds with their suggestion to articulate more clearly ‘the nature of the moral authority’ of the Instruments of Communion.<sup>690</sup> This became eventually one of the most contentious issues in the drafting process of the Covenant.

The overwhelming majority of respondents to the drafts warned against the idea of an Anglican curia.<sup>691</sup> Following the first draft suggestion that the Primates Meeting’s role should be enhanced, giving them *de facto* judicial powers in the Communion,<sup>692</sup> many provinces reacted with forceful indignation. Canada warned that ‘these sections

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<sup>689</sup> WR, 44.

<sup>690</sup> Ibid.

<sup>691</sup> Australia, Canada, Brazil, England, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Portugal, Scotland, South Africa, USA, and Wales.

<sup>692</sup> Cf. Nassau 6.5.: ‘to seek the guidance of the Instruments of Communion, where there are matters in serious dispute among churches that cannot be resolved by mutual admonition and counsel: 1. by submitting the matter to the Primates Meeting; 2. if the Primates believe that the matter is not one for which a common mind has been articulated, they will seek it with the other instruments and their councils 3. finally, on this basis, the Primates will offer guidance and direction.’

have aspects which are non-synodical and raise serious concerns.’<sup>693</sup> New Zealand cautioned that a ‘curia type authority and centralization of authority among the primates is contrary to Anglican tradition and values.’<sup>694</sup> For Portugal, the Nassau draft claimed ‘to give to the Primates Meeting a binding statute (court, curia or other) with legislative powers upon the Provinces, limiting their autonomy and the conciliar richness of the Anglican Communion.’<sup>695</sup> For the USA there seemed to be an unwelcomed ‘drift towards a world-wide synod of primates with directive power over member churches.’<sup>696</sup> Australia, in addition, asked for the use of ‘a language which makes it clear that the authority of the Instruments of Communion is moral and advisory only and not semi-judicial or executive.’<sup>697</sup> Wales used a stronger tone when they rejected ‘the implied move from an episcopally-led and synodically-governed church to a developing Magisterium that seeks to exercise its “inherent” powers that existed in a pre-reformation church.’<sup>698</sup> In similar terms, based on a canon law argument, the CofE noted that:

[I]t would be unlawful for the General Synod to delegate its decision making powers to the Primates, and that this therefore means that it could not sign up to a Covenant which purported to give the Primates of the Communion the ability to give ‘direction’ about the course of action that the Church of England should take.<sup>699</sup>

The Province of Southern Africa, was the only voice from Africa that explicitly rejected a curia-style Primates’ Meeting:

There was close to universal disquiet at the extended role proposed for Primates, with the view that this undermines our commitment both to being ‘episcopally led

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<sup>693</sup> Canada 1.3.

<sup>694</sup> New Zealand 1.5.

<sup>695</sup> Portugal 1.2.

<sup>696</sup> TEC 1.5.

<sup>697</sup> Australia 1.10.

<sup>698</sup> Wales 1.4.

<sup>699</sup> England 1.13.

and synodically governed’ and to proper collegiality between primates and their fellow bishops.<sup>700</sup>

This perceived ‘curialization’ of Anglican Communion structures was considered by some as profoundly un-Anglican. The Brazilian bishops spoke for many when they said that ‘the creation of curial instances [is] absolutely alien to our ethos.’<sup>701</sup> Korea went further and affirmed that the ‘Covenant seems proposing a rather Roman Catholic type of church to the Anglican Communion by turning those four "instruments" into the upper parts of hierarchical structure.’<sup>702</sup> And in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Disquiet was expressed at the concept of a Covenant which in binding member churches cedes authority to a centralised body. Several Dioceses said that such an idea is ‘unanglican’ and unprecedented in the history of the Anglican Communion.<sup>703</sup>

This critique of the ‘un-Anglican’ nature of the Covenant was not directed to the entire document. It was not a reference to doctrinal issues nor to the general ecclesiological principles outlined in the first three sections of the draft. Neither was it a rejection of the principles of mutuality and interdependence, as Paul Avis seems to imply.<sup>704</sup> Rather, ‘un-Anglican’ was a direct reference to the perceived curialization of certain Instruments of Communion.

Despite all the above concerns, the successive drafts continued to affirm increased powers for certain Instruments of Communion. The second draft described a complex and detailed process of conflict resolution that involved several Instruments of Communion: the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as ACC members and primates under a proposed ‘Joint Standing Committee’.<sup>705</sup> This *de facto* fifth instrument, had the role of overseeing the implementation and functioning of the Covenant. The inclusion of members of both

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<sup>700</sup> Southern Africa 1.1.

<sup>701</sup> Brazil 2.1.

<sup>702</sup> Korea 2.1.

<sup>703</sup> New Zealand 1.4.; 2.2.

<sup>704</sup> Cf. Paul Avis, ‘Editorial: The Anglican Covenant’, *Ecclesiology* 7.3 (2011); and Paul Avis, ‘Anglican Ecclesiology and the Anglican Covenant’, *JAS* 12 (2014), 112-132. doi:10.1017/S1740355313000156.

<sup>705</sup> St. Andrew’s, *Draft Procedural Appendix for an Anglican Covenant*. 1-4.

the ACC and the Primates' Meeting in this committee attempted to appease both sides of the debate. The suggestion, however, did not please anyone.

The Church of Uganda reasserted its view that the 'Primates should have an enhanced role in matters of the communion including disciplining of erring members of the communion.'<sup>706</sup> This should not include the ACC. For Uganda, the 'ACC should be more of a mission body – mobilizing people for mission rather than being judicial.'<sup>707</sup> Nigeria, too, affirmed their conviction that the role of the Primates' Meeting should be enhanced. Their proposal was clear: 'we advise the review of the role of the Primates Meeting, to secure the sinews and ligaments of the Communion.'<sup>708</sup> The Province of South East Asia gave, in addition, their own rationale for supporting new powers given to the Primates:

It was felt that the Primates' Meeting was the Instrument of Communion most appropriate to provide a final decision on any covenant disagreements which threaten the unity of the Communion and the effectiveness or credibility of its mission. Primates are the servants and spokespersons of the episcopates and dioceses of their respective Provinces. Therefore the Primates would have an intrinsic authority arising from the authority of their own episcopal colleges. The Anglican Consultative Council, not being a faith and order and/or synodical body, should not have the role suggested in the existing draft Framework Procedures.<sup>709</sup>

The difficulty with the above suggestion was that the role of the primate is not the same in every province across the Communion. This issue was highlighted by a number of provinces in the process. In Australia, for example, the primate 'holds little, if any, authority in a diocese other than that of which he is bishop.'<sup>710</sup> The primate's authority 'is moral rather than jurisdictional and he leads by invitation rather than by direction.'<sup>711</sup> In Canada, 'the Primate has no ordinary jurisdiction in any Canadian diocese', and 'has no

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<sup>706</sup> Uganda 2.5.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid.

<sup>708</sup> Nigeria 2.1.

<sup>709</sup> South East Asia 2.1.

<sup>710</sup> Australia 1.1.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid.

national authority apart from the power of suasion.<sup>712</sup> This is similar in most Western nations. Japan summarized this problem succinctly and accurately when they wrote:

[I]t seems that the role and authority of the primate and/or primates' meeting varies from one province to the other, and we do not think there is common understanding for the primate and/or primates' meeting in the Anglican Communion. Thus, we never wish that the primates' meeting have power to restrain each province with its decisions.<sup>713</sup>

The role of the archbishop of Canterbury too was reviewed and debated in the drafting process. The Covenant drafts described his role in classic terms, as 'the bishop of the See of Canterbury with which Anglicans have historically been in communion',<sup>714</sup> as *primus inter pares* amongst bishops in the Communion, as 'a focus and means of unity', and as the one who 'gathers and works with the Lambeth Conference and Primates' Meeting, and presides in the Anglican Consultative Council'.<sup>715</sup> In practice, however, the archbishop was allocated a leading role in the processes of conflict resolution envisaged by the St. Andrew's draft texts. This was corrected by the Ridley-Cambridge draft in favour of the Joint Standing Committee.

Most of the drafts respondents agreed with the classic definition of the roles of the archbishop of Canterbury. For Hong Kong, the archbishop is both first among equals and the 'spiritual leader' of the Anglican Communion.<sup>716</sup> South Africa, reacting to the enhanced role afforded to him by the second draft, warned that whilst he was 'the 'first among equals' he should not become an Anglican "Pope"'.<sup>717</sup> Whilst New Zealand defined its understanding of being part of the Communion, 'by virtue of being in Communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury and with each other'.<sup>718</sup> This is reflected in the constitutions of many provinces in the Communion.<sup>719</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> Canada 2.8-9.

<sup>713</sup> Japan 1.2.

<sup>714</sup> Nassau 5.2.I.; St. Andrew's 3.1.4.I.; Ridley 3.1.4.I.

<sup>715</sup> Ibid.

<sup>716</sup> Cf. Hong Kong 1.1.

<sup>717</sup> Southern Africa 1.6.

<sup>718</sup> New Zealand 1.4.

<sup>719</sup> For instance, the Constitution of the Church in Wales defines the Anglican Communion as 'a family of churches, [...] in full communion with one another and with the See of Canterbury.' Cf. Wales 2.3.

The most innovative proposals concerning the office of the archbishop of Canterbury came from Africa. The Province of Southern Africa questioned ‘whether the Archbishop of Canterbury was likely always to be a British citizen.’<sup>720</sup> The Anglican Church of Nigeria suggested a symbolic role devoid of authority. In their words, ‘[t]he Archbishop of Canterbury, because of historical reasons shall be accorded a place of honour and be made to play the role the British Monarch plays in the Commonwealth of nations.’<sup>721</sup> Uganda went further, recommending that ‘a head of the Anglican Communion who is one among equals’ should be chosen from among the primates, by the primates, ‘to chair their sessions when they meet.’<sup>722</sup>

In some of the above responses, the refusal to accept an executive or judicial role for the primates, or indeed for any of the Instruments of Communion, was based on the principle of dispersed authority. This quintessentially Anglican ecclesiological principle, spelled out at the 1930 Lambeth Conference,<sup>723</sup> was explicitly affirmed by Brazil and Wales. In their response to the second draft, the Brazilian bishops affirmed that:

The nature of the Anglican Communion already has sufficient elements that both characterize and nurture it. This is the richness of our cultural and hermeneutical diversity that always creates the challenge of positive tension for us, experienced in the exercise of dispersed and shared authority. We cannot, however, allow it to be replaced by a legal, circumstantial instrument of political control.<sup>724</sup>

In the response to the third draft, the Anglican Episcopal Church of Brazil appealed to this notion again, stressing that ‘there has never been [...] a central source of authority, but a dispersed authority.’<sup>725</sup> For Wales, ‘[t]he Anglican concept of authority is a dispersed one focused through conciliarity.’ This is rooted in the ‘post-Reformation conciliar model which includes theologians, laity, clergy and bishops is essential to the exercise of authority.’<sup>726</sup>

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<sup>720</sup> Southern Africa 1.6.

<sup>721</sup> Nigeria 2.1.

<sup>722</sup> Uganda 2.4.

<sup>723</sup> LC 1930. Resolution 49. This was explored in chapter 5.

<sup>724</sup> Brazil 2.2.

<sup>725</sup> Brazil 3.2.

<sup>726</sup> Wales 2.2

The latter comments by the Church in Wales highlights, in addition, another central dimension in the Anglican understanding of authority and governance: conciliarity or synodality. This ecclesiological principle, as pointed out in chapter 5, rests on a horizontal, rather than vertical, approach to authority, and on the inclusion of lay people in ecclesiastical government. In the case of contemporary Anglican practice, synodality takes place at parish, deanery, archdeaconry, diocesan and provincial levels. However, it does not occur at a Communion level. The closest to a synodical body in the Anglican Communion is the ACC, but this group does not have any binding or decision making powers.

There was widespread rejection of the idea of developing certain Communion structures into synodical bodies with actual power. TEC did not admit the idea of ‘a synodical decision-making body in the Anglican Communion.’<sup>727</sup> New Zealand cautioned ‘against the development of an international synod of bishops,’<sup>728</sup> in reference to a Lambeth Conference with enhanced powers. This was echoed by Southern Africa, who saw the role of the Lambeth Conferences not as a synodical dimension of global Anglicanism, but as the closest expression of the principle of ‘episcopally led’ internationally.<sup>729</sup>

The Province of Southern Africa, in addition, noted that, ‘there was huge disparity among Provinces about the number of parishes and individuals falling under each bishop’s oversight.’<sup>730</sup> This appears to be the only reference to the issue of episcopal numeric representation. In other words, if Lambeth were to be considered a synod of bishops who represent the wider church, would it matter that some bishops represent tens of congregations and others hundreds? Should it matter that some bishops oversee dioceses with hundreds of members, while others have thousands or tens of thousands? And, if these questions do matter, then the more difficult question, raised in chapter 5, namely, how should Anglicans count their members, becomes all the more important.

Synodality was affirmed by many respondents in an attempt to reject what was perceived by some as an increasingly episcopocentric Anglican Communion. Amongst them were: Canada, England, Korea, New Zealand, Scotland, the USA, and Wales. In

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<sup>727</sup> TEC 1.5.

<sup>728</sup> New Zealand 1.2.

<sup>729</sup> Cf. South Africa 1.7

<sup>730</sup> South Africa 1.7.



this context, the notion of ‘Bishop in Synod’ was affirmed by most provinces. This appellation was instigated by the West Indies and Wales,<sup>731</sup> and in the third draft replaced ‘episcopally led and synodically governed,’ which appeared on the second draft.<sup>732</sup>

Finally, there is an aspect of authority, central to Anglican ecclesiology, which coexists in creative tension in the Communion. That is, the binary formed by the principles of autonomy and interdependence. All Anglicans agree with the concept of self-government at a provincial level.<sup>733</sup> From the responses, however, it is clear that not everyone agrees on the limits of autonomy, as it is posed by the notion of interdependence.

Some provinces cautioned against the transfer of authority ‘from the autonomous Provincial Churches of the Anglican Communion, [...] to a credal document,’<sup>734</sup> or to a group of people (e.g. the Primates’ Meeting).<sup>735</sup> In this respect, the Church in Wales considered that ‘[t]he language of the Covenant indicates a change of emphasis from autonomous provincial government with consultation to a global body with central authority for leadership with powers of exclusion.’<sup>736</sup> Other national churches raised concerns regarding the changing understanding of interdependence in contemporary Anglicanism. The USA Episcopal Church, made this point the clearest when it noted that:

[A] notion that originally arose from the 1963 Anglican Congress vision of “mutual responsibility and interdependence in the body of Christ,” has begun to be used as a call for submission to a “moral authority” on Communion-wide concerns.<sup>737</sup>

Indeed, this shift of emphasis, from a concept associated to the sharing of resources in mission, to a synonym of tight accountability, is neither consistent with historic Anglican ecclesiology, nor with its original purpose. In the recent debate over human sexuality, this notion has been emphasized primarily by conservative provinces, and only in a

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<sup>731</sup> West Indies 2.2; Wales 1.4.

<sup>732</sup> St. Andrew’s 3.1.2.

<sup>733</sup> The Provinces within the Anglican Communion are autonomous and each Church formulates its own Constitution and governs its own life. New Zealand 1.4.

<sup>734</sup> Hong Kong 1.1.

<sup>735</sup> Portugal 1.2

<sup>736</sup> Wales 1.5.

<sup>737</sup> TEC 2.3.

unidirectional and monothematic manner. Interdependence, *de facto*, applies to one issue, homosexuality, and is directed solely to those who have promoted innovation. In this sense, interdependence may be translated, in practice, as the loss of autonomy by provinces that decide to innovate on issues of human sexuality.

The Anglican tradition of autonomy, as seen in the previous chapter, is deeply connected with the Protestant emphasis on freedom, which is in turn related to a modern worldview. In the drafts responses, in addition, one observes an emphasis on a post-modern suspicion of power/authority, articulated by the Anglican Church of Canada, as well as a post-colonial rejection of external power and authority. The latter aspect is explicitly present in some of the responses by Aotearoa New Zealand, in relation to the Tikanga Maori, and the history of the indigenous communities in Aotearoa and the South Pacific. It is also implicit in some of the statements by African churches, which promote a review of those Instruments of Communion associated with the colonial past, that is the archbishop of Canterbury and the Lambeth Conference, whilst enhancing the role of the most recent, post-colonial Instruments. This cultural aspect will be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

### ***6.2.2. Did the responses really shape and change the Covenant drafts?***

The process of drafting the Anglican Covenant was regarded by many as a very positive one. It enabled provinces to reflect on their own understanding of Anglican identity, as they agreed with or reacted against different aspects of the drafts. The unfolding draft texts and final Covenant did change, in some cases significantly, some important aspects of the original text. The Anglican Church of Canada noted that the process of consultation and revision of consecutive drafts had a positive effect in the development of the final Covenant.<sup>738</sup> The changes, however, were not enough to gain the support of the main critics from both ends.

The textual analysis carried out in this chapter is based on a comparative study of the parallel drafts.<sup>739</sup> When looking closely at the texts, one observes that, on the whole,

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<sup>738</sup> 'There is a third option demonstrated in the process involved in the consultation and revision of the Covenant. This has been beneficial since it is apparent that the results of consultation have influenced the modification of the proposed Covenant.' Canada 2.10.

<sup>739</sup> The comparative parallel document can be found in the Appendix section: 'Covenant Drafts Parallels'

the doctrinal and ecclesiological statements remained largely unchanged. By contrast, the legal and procedural elements dealing with conflict-resolution experienced substantial changes. In the ecclesiological sections<sup>740</sup> the revision of the text was mainly in the form of a change of emphasis, highlighting certain aspects over others. A clear example of this is the increasingly prominent role that mission is given from the second draft onwards, in response to the comments of a number of provinces.<sup>741</sup> In other instances, the changes involved making explicit what may have been regarded as implicit in the text: references to Hooker's hermeneutical paradigm, to the *lex orandi*, or to the notion of Anglicanism being a provisional ecclesiology. These aspects were highlighted by a number of the respondents, and were eventually, in one way or another, incorporated into the Covenant.<sup>742</sup>

Another example in which the drafts introduced subtle changes was in its depiction of Scripture. In the first draft, the reference to 'biblically derived moral values' was challenged by a number of churches.<sup>743</sup> This expression was removed from the following drafts in favour of a more neutral appeal to 'continuity and consonance with Scripture.'<sup>744</sup> Whilst the significance and authoritative role of the Bible remained unchanged, its process and agents of interpretation were expanded and clarified. There was a shift, from an emphasis on the reading and interpretation of Scripture by bishops and scholars, to a more inclusive hermeneutical process that involves also lay people and the whole community. This was in response to some provinces who stressed the role of communal and lay involvement in the reading of scripture.<sup>745</sup> A new paragraph was inserted in the Ridley draft that stated the importance:

[T]o hear, read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the Scriptures in our different contexts, informed by the attentive and communal reading of - and costly witness to - the Scriptures by all the faithful, by the teaching of bishops and synods, and by the results of rigorous study by lay and ordained scholars.<sup>746</sup>

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<sup>740</sup> Nassau 1-5; St. Andrew's 1-3.1; Ridley 1-3.1.

<sup>741</sup> Southern Africa 1.5; TEC 1.4; West Africa 2.1; West Indies 2.2.

<sup>742</sup> See section 6.2.1 (a) and (c) of this chapter.

<sup>743</sup> Southern Africa 1.6; TEC 1.3; Wales 1.6.

<sup>744</sup> St. Andrew's 1.2.; Ridley 1.2.; and TAC 1.2.

<sup>745</sup> Canada 2.3; TEC 2.7; Wales 1.2.

<sup>746</sup> Ridley 1.2.4; TAC 1.2.4.

Another area of change was the introduction, in the third draft, of a new sentence acknowledging the diversity of practice and understanding of governance in Anglicanism. This was in response, as seen above, to the provinces who raised the issue of the lack of consensus among Anglicans in their understanding of episcopal and primatial authority. In discussing the Instruments of Communion, the CDG affirmed that:

The life of communion includes an ongoing engagement with the diverse expressions of apostolic authority, from synods and episcopal councils to local witness, in a way which continually interprets and articulates the common faith of the Church's members (*consensus fidelium*).<sup>747</sup>

Finally, the most significant changes in the Covenant drafts occurred in the last section. Certain provinces had been requesting more clarity and precision in the process of dealing with divisive conflict in the Communion. Others had raised questions of who should be the arbiter in conflict-resolution, and what sort of authority should they be accorded. The first draft did not address any of these issues in any detail, and gave the Primates' Meeting the leading role in conflict-resolution, including enhanced powers that were severely questioned by many. As shown above, the St. Andrew's draft corrected this and created the Joint Standing Committee to deal with divisive issues. The processes of conflict resolution were appended to the main Covenant proposal, rather than integrated into the main document. Most responses to the second draft asked for these processes to appear in a new section.

The third draft included section four, under the heading: 'Our covenanted life together'. This procedural section affirmed the same basic principles present in the appendix to the second draft: the role of the Joint Standing Committee and the relational consequences of not following a request articulated by this committee. These consequences included the 'limitation of participation in, or suspension from' certain Instruments of Communion.<sup>748</sup> In addition, the JSC was able to make recommendations in response to actions, by individual churches, that were considered to be incompatible

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<sup>747</sup> Ridley 3.1.4; TAC 3.1.4.

<sup>748</sup> Ridley 4.2.3.

with the Covenant. In this instance, a new phrase was included in the draft that raised questions about the efficacy of the process: ‘It shall be for each Church and each Instrument to determine its own response to such recommendation.’<sup>749</sup> This was critiqued by a number of provinces, from a range of contexts.<sup>750</sup> For Brazil, in addition, ‘section 4 creates more doubts than certainties.’<sup>751</sup>

### 6.3. Conclusions

This chapter began with the events that took place in Lambeth at the extraordinary Primates’ Meeting of October 2003. The invitation of the archbishop of Canterbury to his fellow primates was to have eucharistic communion with him, on the grounds that it was with him, and the See of Canterbury, that they were in communion. As seen from some of the responses analysed above, this fundamental notion at the centre of historic Anglican self-understanding, has been challenged by some in the Covenant process.

The most poignant example is the decision of the Anglican Church of Nigeria to remove all former references to be in communion with Canterbury from its constitution. Their most recently amended constitutional text, from 2005, redefined their relationship with the Anglican Communion, and by extension, their understanding of Anglicanism, in the following terms:

The Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion) [...] shall be in full communion with all Anglican Churches Dioceses and Provinces that hold and maintain the Historic Faith, Doctrine, Sacrament and Discipline of the one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church as the Lord has commanded in His holy word and as the same

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<sup>749</sup> Ibid. 4.2.5. In the Covenant itself, this idea was rendered as: ‘Each Church or each Instrument shall determine whether or not to accept such recommendations.’ TAC 4.2.7.

<sup>750</sup> Australia commented: ‘This amendment seeks to clarify that a covenanting church implements the effects of a declaration rather than receiving them. It is acknowledged that a diocese within a Province may choose to act in a controversial manner independently of the will of the Province. Such an action, however, cannot be the subject of a question to the Standing Committee, or of a declaration of incompatibility. It remains a matter for the internal life of the Province in question, although a question may be raised concerning the response of the province to the action in question.’ Australia 3.8. The West Indies affirmed: ‘The bishops were not happy with the concluding sentence “It shall be for each Church and each Instrument to determine its own response to such recommendations.”’ West Indies 3.1.

<sup>751</sup> Brazil 3.5.

are received as taught in the Book of Common Prayer and the ordinal of 1662 and in the Thirty-Nine Article of Religion.<sup>752</sup>

This postcolonial challenge to a historic view is but one example of the way in which Anglicans have been redefining their identity at the beginning of the twenty first century. The picture that emerges from this chapter's analysis of the Covenant drafts and responses is a theologically complex one that affirms unity in general ecclesiological principles, and diversity in specific emphases. This is seen in most of the identity markers explored above. It also ties in with the twofold definition of identity in chapter 5, based on *koinonia* and alterity. I conclude this chapter, therefore, with a summary of both dimensions of contemporary Anglican self-understanding.

### **6.3.1. Unity**

Throughout the responses to the Covenant drafts, there is a general sense of consensus on shared principles that might help us gain an accurate picture of what an Anglican identity might look like. These are common values held across the Communion that transcend the liberal-conservative dichotomy.

Anglicans see themselves as a family of national churches, professing the apostolic, Trinitarian faith of the early church, heirs both of Western Catholic spirituality and of the Reformation tradition. They have a particular understanding of authority that affirms synodality and provincial autonomy; an emphasis on unity in the context of communion (*koinonia*); an affirmation of the centrality of the *missio Dei* both locally and globally; and an appeal to the Anglican ecumenical vocation.

In addition, Anglicans share in common the four markers of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral: Scripture, creeds, sacraments and episcopacy. They agree on the central role of the Bible in theological reflection, as containing 'all things necessary for salvation'. They share a liturgical tradition and a particular stress on corporate worship (*lex orandi*). And they recognize a certain degree of provisionality in ecclesiology and theology.

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<sup>752</sup> Constitution of the Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion). 2005. 3.1.

### 6.3.2. Diversity

In many of the above areas, Anglicans also show a wide range of emphases and theological nuances. These, in some cases, tend to stress difference; in all instances, they reflect diversity. On the whole, they are expressions of particular theological traditions (evangelical, catholic, liberal), or of specific cultural contexts (postcolonial, modern, postmodern, or a mixture of some of these).

Primatial and episcopal ministry, within the synodical nature of the church, is understood and exercised in different ways across the Communion. In some parts of the world, episcopal authority is a given (e.g. South East Asia); in other parts, it has to be earned (e.g. Canada). In certain countries primates have real provincial authority (e.g. Nigeria); in others, their role is symbolic and their authority moral (e.g. Australia).

There is also disagreement on Hooker's conversational hermeneutics, between those who affirm the importance of the conversation between Scripture, reason and tradition in the theological reflective process, and those for whom the *sola scriptura* is the overriding principle. Likewise, when it comes to the Quadrilateral, some consider it to be foundational and sufficient as a statement of Anglican identity; others believe that it is not enough, and more needs to be said. Those who believe the latter, also believe that liturgy is not enough to define Anglican faith and order. The Communion, according to them, should articulate its identity confessionally. The opposite view is held by those who uphold the historic understanding of the *lex orandi-lex credendi*.

A diversity of views is also expressed in their approach to mission, ecumenism and the notion of adiaphora. The churches that have instigated innovation in the area of human sexuality have argued that they were responding sensitively to their missional contexts. The churches that have opposed such innovations believe that such actions threaten their missional efficacy. Some have regarded the Covenant itself as a positive contribution to Anglican ecumenical relations (Ireland). Others have seen it as a negative document for ecumenical dialogue (Hong Kong). Finally, as shown above, there is no consensus in the understanding of what constitutes adiaphora in the sexuality debate.

Many of these views are opposites, and in some cases irreconcilable. They can only coexist in an environment of mutual respect and recognition of each other's integrity. Any departure from these basic relational principles leads, as it has been the

case in recent years, to fractures that may take a long time to heal. In this context, the need for a higher Anglican synthesis is today as important as it was in the times of Hooker, Maurice or de Mendieta. The next section of this thesis is an attempt to articulate Anglican identity, drawing from the study of the Covenant editing process, from the perspective of cultural studies and the notion of ecclesiological mestizaje.





### **III. CULTURAL IDENTITY AND MESTIZAJE**



## **Chapter 7. Cultural contexts in contemporary Anglicanism: the Covenant and beyond.**

### **7.1. The great silence: ‘culture’ in the Covenant**

One of the key things that stand out as one reads the Anglican Covenant is the overwhelming silence regarding the notion of culture. There are two direct references to ‘culture’ in the document. The first one is in the Introduction, outside the main body of the Covenant itself. Here, the Covenant authors make the following statement:

We are a people who live, learn, and pray by and with the Scriptures as God’s Word. We seek to adore God in thanks and praise and to make intercession for the needs of people everywhere through common prayer, united across many cultures and languages.<sup>753</sup>

This reference is significant because it describes not one culture but a plurality of cultures. It acknowledges cultural diversity in the Communion. This is stressed by the parallel reference to languages. In this instance, the document uses a narrow definition of culture, as a human expression of local contexts. There is no acknowledgement of broader cultural forces at work in the world and in the church at the beginning of the third millennium, such as globalization, consumerism, modernity, postmodernity, colonialism or postcolonialism, some of which, as shall be shown below, have been and continue to be direct contributors to the recent crisis.

The second reference to culture appears in section one, in the context of biblical hermeneutics. Those who sign the Covenant document commit themselves:

[T]o ensure that biblical texts are received, read and interpreted faithfully, respectfully, comprehensively and coherently, with the expectation that Scripture

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<sup>753</sup> TAC Introduction.

continues to illuminate and transform the Church and its members, and through them, individuals, cultures and societies.<sup>754</sup>

Here ‘culture’ becomes a passive subject which can be enlightened and transformed *by* the Scriptures, *through* the church. In this instance, the Covenant authors describe culture in negative terms, as something that needs to be changed. Whilst this approach to culture has been widely affirmed in Christian history, it has often been qualified, and certainly always appeared in tension with other positive approaches missing in this document. The Anglican Church in Wales, emphasized this in their response to the first Covenant draft:

Scripture as interpreted and applied by the church can be a source of illumination, challenge and transformation to human cultures and systems. However the church has also shown itself to be blind to aspects of human culture and how this can illuminate our reading of Scripture.<sup>755</sup>

H. Richard Niebuhr, in his classic work *Christ and Culture*, described the way religious communities respond to and engage with culture as the ‘enduring problem’.<sup>756</sup> He described five different approaches to that question. The two positions at each end of the spectrum were: ‘Christ against culture’, which regarded culture in absolute negative terms, and emphasized that Christians should live outside of the wider culture;<sup>757</sup> and ‘Christ of culture’, emphasizing Christ as conforming to society or culture.<sup>758</sup> In between these two poles, he identified three central positions involving different levels of engagement with culture, one of which was Christ as the transformer of culture.<sup>759</sup> It is

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<sup>754</sup> TAC 1.2.5.

<sup>755</sup> Wales 1.3.

<sup>756</sup> Cf. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: HarperOne, 2001. 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Expanded Edition), 1-44. Although Niebuhr’s analysis of this question has been criticized by some, especially for creating a dichotomy (Christ and culture) that is theologically problematic and for employing an undifferentiated and confusing definition of culture. See: John Howard Yoder, ‘How H. Richard Niebuhr Reasoned: A Critique of *Christ and Culture*’ in Glen H. Stassen, et al. (eds.), *Authentic Transformation: A New Vision of Christ and Culture* (Nashville: Abingdon Press. 1996), 56; and Charles Scriven, *The Transformation of Culture: Christian Social Ethics after H. Richard Niebuhr* (Scottsdale, Penn.: Herald Press, 1988), his work has been one of the most influential on this subject in the English speaking world.

<sup>757</sup> Cf. Ibid. 45-82.

<sup>758</sup> Cf. Ibid. 83-115.

<sup>759</sup> Cf. Ibid. 190-229.

surprising that in the Covenant text, cultural transformation is not by Christ, not even by the Holy Spirit, who is reserved that role in Trinitarian theology, but by the Scriptures.

Apart from the two appeals to culture described above, there is a resounding silence on this issue throughout the Covenant. One can only find a few indirect allusions to cultures, using the term ‘contexts’ in connection with past and present Anglicanism. For instance, there is a passing reference to the English Reformation ‘context’ as part of a description of the Anglican ‘inheritance of faith’.<sup>760</sup> And there are three references to ‘different’ or ‘varying’ contexts. One in the Preamble, associated with the witnessing effectiveness of the local church,<sup>761</sup> and one in section one. Here, the diverse contexts are acknowledged in the heading of subsection 1.2<sup>762</sup> and in relation to contextual readings of Scripture,<sup>763</sup> an aspect that had been highlighted by some respondents to the drafts.<sup>764</sup>

The absence of engagement with culture in the Covenant text is, to say the least, puzzling. This virtual silence could be explained by an appeal to the nature of the document, a statement of Anglican identity and means of conflict resolution that should be effective not just in the present context but also into the future. A direct reference to current cultural contexts and dynamics may have been considered inappropriate and/or unhelpful, if the Covenant was to survive beyond contemporary cultures. By keeping the document ‘culture-free’ the authors may have hoped to affirm its universal dimension as a statement of timeless Anglican ecclesiology and a neutral regulator of inter-Anglican relations (and potential conflicts). The document seems to compensate this culture deficit, with general, brief, unspecific and undeveloped references to diversity of ‘contexts’. The latter seem a safe and non-controversial way to describe what is no more than a platitude in historic and present Anglicanism.

The cultural silence appears even louder when set alongside the multiple voices that appealed to culture from across the Communion, in the responses to the various Covenant drafts. It is also hard to explain when much of the evidence connected with the

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<sup>760</sup> TAC 1.1.2: ‘The historic formularies of the Church of England, forged in the context of the European Reformation’. (p. 2).

<sup>761</sup> Cf. TAC Preamble: ‘we do this in order to proclaim more effectively in our different contexts the grace of God revealed in the gospel’.

<sup>762</sup> TAC 1.2: ‘In living out this inheritance of faith together in varying contexts, each Church, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself: [...]’

<sup>763</sup> Cf. TAC 1.2.4: ‘to hear, read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the Scriptures in our different contexts’. (p.3).

<sup>764</sup> Cf. TEC 1.3 and Japan 1.4.

recent crisis purports that, alongside theology, culture acts as a significant source of these ecclesial tensions. Before looking at the way in which national and provincial churches have highlighted the significance of culture in their responses to the Covenant drafts, a word on definitions.

## **7.2. What is culture? Some working definitions**

It is often said that culture is like the water in a fish bowl. The goldfish is immersed in it, lives in it and yet it cannot see it. The only time the fish misses the water is when it is taken out of it. Although this image does not do justice to the complexity, diversity, dynamic and porous nature of human culture, it does highlight at least two significant aspects. One, that culture is the fundamental social dimension in which human beings ‘move and live and have their being’. And two, that most people are blind, or at the very least partially sighted, when it comes to their own culture. In that respect, culture is sometimes identified as that which belongs to the ‘other’. Paradoxically, despite the latter affirmation, culture acts as the lens through which individuals perceive and interpret reality.

The aspect of culture I am interested in here is the one reflected on by the social sciences, particularly anthropology, sociology and cultural studies. It is almost impossible to define culture in a single sentence or paragraph. There are as many definitions as there are social theorists. Kathryn Tanner in her *Theories of Culture* identifies two distinct though overlapping approaches to culture: a modern one, which in the USA developed between the 1920s and 1960s, and a postmodern one, which evolved in the latter part of the twentieth century. For Tanner, in modern anthropology culture was regarded as: (1) ‘the defining mark of human life’ (a human universal); (2) highlighting ‘human diversity;’ (3) different according to each social group; (4) reflecting ‘their entire way of life;’ (5) ‘associated with social consensus;’ (6) constructing human nature; (7) and yet itself a human construct; (8) with a strong sense of contingency; and (9) able to shape ‘the character of its members.’ These were the key elements of the modern definition of culture.<sup>765</sup>

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<sup>765</sup> Cf. Kathryn Tanner, *Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1997), 25-29.

According to Tanner, the postmodern critique of culture, although accepting the overall definition articulated by modernity, has challenged significant aspects of this analysis. It has criticized, especially, the perceived modern 'inattention to historical processes,' and the view of cultures 'as internally consistent wholes' that are associated with social order and characterized by inner consensus, stability, and clear boundaries.<sup>766</sup> For Tanner:

The postmodern anthropologist does not deny that cultures may be made up of taken-for-granted meanings, or may be given shape by stable configurations of cultural elements.[...] [But] because they are the products of historical processes, none of these features of cultures can be simply presumed. Homogeneity, consistency, order, are no longer unempirical, a priori presumptions; sometimes they occur, sometimes they do not.<sup>767</sup>

Contemporary cultural studies agree with the basic definition of culture as 'a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.'<sup>768</sup> Yet, it also acknowledges the historical processes that have led to particular cultural developments (e.g. imperialism, colonialism, particular revolutions), and is aware of the multilayered, complex, dynamic, diverse and porous nature of culture.<sup>769</sup>

In broad terms, it is possible to differentiate between two types of historically-shaped, somewhat geographically-bound, and socially-shared cultures: macro-cultures and micro-cultures.<sup>770</sup> Macro-cultures refers to mainstream, dominant cultures in a particular location. Whereas micro-cultures stand for the subcultures associated with particular groups (religious, political, artistic, economic, ideological, etc). Globally,

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<sup>766</sup> Ibid. 40-56.

<sup>767</sup> Ibid. 56.

<sup>768</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89.

<sup>769</sup> Cf. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998); Ulf Hannerz, *Cultural Complexity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

<sup>770</sup> This distinction is based on the two types of analysis carried out by contemporary sociology at both macro and micro levels. Cf. Doyle Paul Johnson, *Contemporary Sociological Theory: An Integrated Multi-Level Approach* (Lubbock, TX: Springer, 2008). Johnson affirms that: 'The micro level involves a focus on human agency and choice and the dynamics of personal relationships and small-scale social systems of various types, particularly those involving face-to-face encounters. The macro level, in contrast, is concerned with larger-scale social systems, typically at the level of total societies.' vi.



macro-cultures cross national and regional boundaries and often coexist with each other, in tension, within those porous boundaries. Globalization, consumerism, modernity, colonialism, postmodernity, postcolonialism, secularism, liberalism, conservatism, post-Christendom, are all described by sociology and cultural studies as representing dominant macro-cultures. By contrast, micro-cultures tend to reflect either local or group specific realities. The latter, may also have a transnational dimension. For instance, particular minority social groups, such as gipsy or LGBT communities, may identify themselves with a particular global or regional subculture, or micro-culture.<sup>771</sup>

In global Anglicanism, micro-cultures are connected with local or national cultural contexts, all of which coexist within wider macro-cultures. In the recent crisis, two pairs of macro-cultures, at different stages of transition, have been appealed to by both defenders and detractors of these cultures: modernity-postmodernity and colonial-postcolonial. It is worth paying attention to some of the key features of these binary transitional cultures.

Brazilian theologian Carlos Eduardo Calvani, one of the most critical voices against the Anglican Covenant, depicts some of the negative ways in which modernity influenced Christian theology in the sixteenth century. For him:

Modernity was pretentious. It affirmed itself as the “Age of Enlightenment” in contrast to the medieval “Dark Ages”. Modern thought attempted to catalogue and define everything. The theology derived from this optimism formed the backdrop for various confessions (Westminster, Formula of Concord, Augsburg, Synod of Dort, the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion), all presuming to be the correct definition of faith.<sup>772</sup>

He goes on to describe the collapse of modernity appealing to the biblical narrative of the Tower of Babel. He writes:

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<sup>771</sup> Cf. J.C. Albro and C. Tully, ‘A study of lesbian lifestyles in the homosexual micro-culture and the heterosexual macro-culture’, *Journal of Homosexuality* 4 (1979), 331-40.

<sup>772</sup> Carlos Eduardo Calvani, ‘From Modernity to Postmodernity: Inclusiveness and Making the Myth of the Anglican Communion Relevant Today’, *ATR* 90.1 (2008), 109.

But in the twentieth century, the presumptions of modernity began to disintegrate. Just as in the biblical myth of Babel, modernity built towers with intentions of unambiguousness, but they did not support diversity. The story of the Tower of Babel announces the deconstruction of human claims to universality and power. The builders inability to understand each other does not cause the tower to fall into ruins, but it exposes the tower's fissures and cracks, its incapacity to accomplish what it set out to do.<sup>773</sup>

According to Calvani, central to modernity were claims to certainty, uniformity and universality, which were unable to stand the test of time. By contrast, he describes postmodernity, in positive terms:

Post-modernity is not pessimistic. It has merely lost its naïveté and no longer believes in the dreams of arrogance, unity, and power in whose shipwreck it has participated. [...] This attitude is sensitive to the inevitable expressions of chance, contradiction and randomness.<sup>774</sup>

Postmodernity is associated with chaos and fragmentation.<sup>775</sup> Yet, it is also imbedded with an implicit sense of humility. American Roman Catholic ecclesiologist Gerard Mannion is a leading articulator of what might be considered a postmodern ecclesiology with an ecumenical vocation. Like Calvani, Mannion distances himself from modernity's power motivated arrogance and advocates a postmodern ecclesiology based on the principle of humility, and rooted theologically in the doctrine of the Trinity:

In *Ecclesiology and Postmodernity* I spoke about the need for the church to be the *analogia ecclesiae*, an analogous if imperfect image of the loving, coequal, codivine and coeternal blissful threefold community that is the being of the triune God itself. Today we can develop this analogy further still. The humility of God witnessed in an act not of power but of letting be, of self-limitation and of glorious loving, in creation itself, the humility of God that is the antithesis of

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<sup>773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>774</sup> Ibid. 112.

<sup>775</sup> Cf. Jaci Maraschin, 'Culture, Spirit and Worship', *ATR* 82.1 (2000), 60.

domineering power – can this also still inform and shape our ways and means of ecclesial being today? Or do we continue with the pretense that humanity knows better, and what it knows best is the expediency of raw power, however literally counterevangelical (i.e. working against the gospel) this expediency becomes?<sup>776</sup>

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, Protestant theologian Maliaba Kenzo is one of the few African voices to advocate an authentic African postmodernism connected to their postcolonial contexts. He acknowledges that most African scholars reject the idea of postmodernism, citing Emmanuel Katongole<sup>777</sup> and Ania Loomba<sup>778</sup>, who dismiss it as a ‘typically Western malaise.’<sup>779</sup> He concedes that most African academics prefer to assert their identities in relation to postcolonialism, defending a return to a cultural traditionalism, as a reaction against colonial eurocentrism.<sup>780</sup>

Kenzo, however, makes two points. First, that ‘it is legitimate to think about Africa in terms of postmodernism because there are historical antecedents for postmodernism in African culture, literature and philosophy, and because the current postcolonial situation calls for it.’<sup>781</sup> And secondly, that ‘it is beneficial to think about Africa in terms of postmodernism because postmodernism clears free space at the margins of Enlightenment reason where true alterity can be sought and expressed.’<sup>782</sup> Kenzo approaches postmodernism in a non-chronological fashion, appealing to the notion of ‘negritude’ as an authentic postmodern African expression.

The above examples show some of the ways in which postmodernism has been appropriated and redefined by individuals from different contexts. They also challenge the lineal understanding of postmodernity as ‘that which follows modernity’ in European or Western history. Finally, the notion of postmodernism, although widely accepted by

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<sup>776</sup> Gerard Mannion, ‘Response: Ecclesiology and the Humility of God: Embracing the risk of Loving the World’, in Dennis M. Doyle, Timothy J. Furry, and Pascal D. Bazzell (eds.), *Ecclesiology and Exclusion: Boundaries of Being and Belonging in Postmodern Times* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2012), 37-38.

<sup>777</sup> Cf. Emmanuel M. Katongole, ‘Postmodern Allusions and the Challenges of African Theology: The Ecclesial Tactics of Resistance’, *Modern Theology* 16 (2000), 237-54.

<sup>778</sup> Cf. Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>779</sup> Maliaba J.R. Kenzo, ‘Thinking otherwise about Africa: Postcolonianism, Postmodernism, and the future of African theology’, *Exchange* 31.4 (2002), 324.

<sup>780</sup> Cf. Ato Quayson, *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process?* (New York: Pantheon, 2000).

<sup>781</sup> Kenzo, ‘Thinking otherwise’, 323-324.

<sup>782</sup> Ibid. 324.

social theorists and theologians, has also been challenged by some, who favour the expression 'late modernity' instead.<sup>783</sup>

Connected with the above, the binary represented by colonial and postcolonial discourses and cultures has also played a central role in the recent Anglican debate on culture. Colonialism is associated with the imperial advances of primarily, though not exclusively, Western nations in the Americas, Africa and Asia.<sup>784</sup> It is deeply intertwined with what South African Anglican theologian Gerald West describes as the British 'imperial project'.<sup>785</sup> One that started with Henry VIII and reached its hay day under Queen Victoria.<sup>786</sup> In the colonial growth of global Anglicanism, the USA Episcopal Church also played an important role through missionary initiatives in Latin America, Japan and the Philippines. For West, '[t]he Anglican Church in Southern Africa has been profoundly shaped by the imperial project and [...] the logic of this imperial project has been only partially deconstructed by the changing Southern African context.'<sup>787</sup> Deconstruction is as central to postcolonialism as it is to postmodernism. So much so that the most significant aspect of a definition of postcolonialism is not 'that which follows the colonial' but 'that which questions the colonial'.<sup>788</sup> Biblical scholar R.S. Sugirtharajah has described postcolonial discourse as:

An active interrogation of the hegemonic systems of thought, textual codes, and symbolic practices which the West constructed in its domination of colonial

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<sup>783</sup> For a discussion on terminology, especially 'postmodernity' vs. 'late modernity', see Johnson, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 44.

<sup>784</sup> A significant exception to Western imperialism is Japanese colonialism in Korea.

<sup>785</sup> Gerald West, '(Southern) African Anglican Biblical Interpretation: A Postcolonial Project', *JAS* 8.2 (2009), 140-164.

<sup>786</sup> This view, though widely accepted by most Anglican missiologists, has been challenged by some. According to Duggan there are three different interpretations concerning the relationship between the Church of England and the British Empire in the expansion of Anglicanism: 'the relationship between the colonial Church of England and the British Empire is disputed by contemporary Anglican theologians from Australian Anglican Rowan Strong who sees a direct connection, to Rhodes Professor of Imperial History at King's College, London, Andrew Porter, who sees an ambiguous connection and Paul Avis who outrightly rejects such a connection.' Joseph F. Duggan, 'The Postcolonial Paradox: Becoming Less than Whole(s) Producing Parts that Exclude Other Parts', *JAS* 7.1 (2009), 71. Cf. Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 13; Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 60; and Paul Avis, *The Identity of Anglicanism* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 53.

<sup>787</sup> West, '(Southern) African', 152.

<sup>788</sup> Fernando Segovia, 'Interpreting Beyond Borders: Postcolonial Studies in Biblical Criticism', in Fernando Segovia, (ed.), *Interpreting Beyond Borders (The Bible and Postcolonialism Vol. 3)* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 74.

subjects. In other words, postcolonialism is concerned with the question of cultural and discursive domination.<sup>789</sup>

In this line, one of the most significant contributions to the postcolonial debate in the Anglican Communion is the collection of essays, edited by Ian Douglas and Kwok Pui-lan, entitled *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*. In this book, a wide range of voices from across the Communion acknowledge the direct impact that colonial history and experience has had on the formation of contemporary Anglicanism, and advocate a process of ‘undoing colonialism’.<sup>790</sup> Brazilian Anglican bishop and theologian Glauco de Lima, reflects on some of the signs of colonialism in the church from a Brazilian context. He writes:

In our Anglican churches, the signs and power of colonial symbols may be seen not only in the liturgical order. [...] Beyond the very order and linguistic sources of our worship, even our clothing bears witness to a colonial origin. In the vestments and trimmings of the clergy, for example, on the bishop's surplice, the sleeves finish up at the cuffs in the same way as those of the noblemen in the British court. Moreover, and perhaps more troubling, the influence of colonial symbols and patterns occurs in the methodology of theological elaboration, in the way our parishes or communities are organized, and in the canonical structures of the church. Colonial influence may be seen in the interpretation of the Bible. It is present even in the still dominant bias in many areas of the church regarding minorities who have an orientation different from the dominant cultural patterns, a bias which is profoundly oppressive for homosexuals.<sup>791</sup>

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<sup>789</sup> R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Asian Biblical Hermeneutics and Postcolonialism* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998), 17.

<sup>790</sup> Cf. De Lima, Glauco S. ‘Preface’, in Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*. De Lima affirms: ‘For those of us who believe that the church is a sign and foretaste of the reign of God in the world, the task of undoing colonialism in our mission is urgent.’ 4-5.

<sup>791</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

De Lima, like many others,<sup>792</sup> believe that colonialism continues to be a key cultural reference for Anglicans, and that true cultural contextualization will not be possible until this is challenged in deep and meaningful ways. That process, although under way, seems to be only in its infancy. The aspiration of those involved in postcolonial critiques of Anglican identity is that the process ‘will change how Anglicans think about identity today as well as how Anglicans remember and tell the story of their historical identity.’<sup>793</sup>

The postcolonial context of contemporary Anglicanism has at least three different emphases. One, described above, is the critical discourse that seeks a deconstruction of existing inherited patterns and theologies, and a rearticulation and reinvention of new patterns in an inculturated manner. This is advocated by theologians from across all continents, and may be described as a theological postcolonial discourse.

A second emphasis is associated with a realignment of power and influence in the Communion. This discourse coming mostly, but not exclusively, from Africa, asserts that the demographic shift in contemporary Anglicanism gives the new numeric majority a new sense of moral authority in the Communion. This postcolonial discourse, as intimated in chapter 5, is used by Global South leaders to influence a redefinition of the rules of the game and exercise a new ecclesiastical power. It also reflects a new sense of self-confidence that evokes a postcolonial ‘coming of age’ assertiveness. An example of this is found in the homepage of the Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion) website which, in reference to their archbishop’s work, affirms:

He has focused his attention on consolidation of previous efforts to keep the banner of the gospel flying higher over the land, and the Church of Nigeria standing tall and taking its rightful place in the Anglican Communion. [...] The Church of Nigeria is now actively reaching out to the UK and the USA through the ministry of our Chaplains in those parts.<sup>794</sup>

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<sup>792</sup> Cf. Bruce Kaye, *Introduction to World Anglicanism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 43; Kwok Pui-lan, ‘The Legacy of Cultural Hegemony’, in Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 49; K.A. Appiah, ‘Is the post-modernism the post- in postcolonial?’, *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991), 336–357.

<sup>793</sup> Joseph F. Duggan, ‘Postcolonial Anglicanism: One Global Identity or Many Contextual Identities?’, *ATR* 90.2 (2008), 356.

<sup>794</sup> <http://www.anglican-nig.org/About%20Us.php> Accessed 13 March 2015.

This statement is revealing in more than one way. There is a sense of pride at the achievements made nationally, which in turn, impact on how they position themselves globally. It also affirms what historically, and from a Western perspective, may be described as a ‘reverse missionary strategy’. In other words, the nation that was once on the receiving end of colonial missionary activity has now become a sending country. The roles are reversed. The strategy, which mirrors that of British colonial mission, is an affirmation of power as much as of evangelistic vigour. The Anglican Province of Southern Africa shared this analysis in their response to the first Covenant draft. For them, ‘there is also too much of a feeling that this is about ‘power’ – not least, between north and south, colonial and post-colonial.’ And concluded that ‘we should not operate on this basis.’<sup>795</sup> This emphasis may be described as a political postcolonial discourse.

Finally, there is a third type of discourse emerging from the unique postcolonial context of indigenous peoples in the Anglican Communion. These voices come mostly from North America and New Zealand, and have been inspired by liberation theology to develop a new narrative to describe their shared history and their aspirations. This group, under the umbrella of the Anglican Communion Indigenous Network,<sup>796</sup> have been active for several decades, and in some places, like New Zealand, have achieved real autonomy, though economic and social challenges remain in many parts. One of their most outspoken articulators is feminist Maori theologian Jenny Plane Te Paa. This emphasis could be described as an indigenous postcolonial discourse.

It is against the above backdrop of complementary and often competing emphases of postcolonial and postmodern discourses, that the references to culture in the Covenant draft responses need to be assessed.

### **7.3. Culture and context in the responses to the Covenant drafts**

If the Covenant text remained largely silent on the issue of culture, the opposite is true of the responses by national churches to the various Covenant drafts. Anglicans from all continents acknowledged at some level the significance of culture and cultural context in Anglican identity formation and articulation. For some, certain aspects of contemporary

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<sup>795</sup> South Africa 1.3

<sup>796</sup> Cf. <http://ain.anglicancommunion.org/> Accessed 15 March 2015.

culture should inspire the church in its local context, whilst others regard contemporary cultural trends with suspicion. They represent classic responses of inculturation and counter-cultural attitudes respectively. These will be examined below.

Sensitivity to cultural diversity was a recurring theme in some of the responses. The Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, governed by three autonomous jurisdictions, representing Maori, Pakeha (Anglo-Saxon) and Polynesian Anglicans, stressed that it was ‘crucial that cultural identity and heritage are honoured in the body of Christ clearly and carefully.’<sup>797</sup> The Scottish Episcopal Church also highlighted ‘the importance of deep cultural differences in our life together in the Communion.’<sup>798</sup> And the Anglican Province of Southern Africa expressed that, ‘all of us must be encouraged to be aware of our cultural contexts – none is neutral, none is necessarily better or worse than any other. It is how we enunciate the gospel and live it out within them that matters.’<sup>799</sup>

Cultural diversity in Anglicanism operates on at least three different levels: the global, which is easily identifiable; the national, where many churches reflect a breadth of ethnic, linguistic or ecclesio-theological cultures; and the local, where this diversity exists within particular cities. The latter is the case of Hong Kong. This Chinese province (HKSCH), in its response to the Nassau draft (2007), stated:

HKSCH treasures the traditional Anglican comprehensiveness and diversity that has enabled different theological and liturgical emphases – Anglo-catholic, Broad, Evangelical – to find expression under one extended canopy. [...] The cohesiveness of pluralistic societies, such as the international community of Hong Kong, depends upon the fostering of a welcoming inclusiveness within churches [...] in which the majority comes together with minority groups in an atmosphere of mutual respect and tolerance.<sup>800</sup>

The cultural argument used by Hong Kong reflects a context that is not unique to this territory. Many Anglican churches find themselves in pluralistic contexts, yet respond to

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<sup>797</sup> New Zealand 1.4.

<sup>798</sup> Scotland 3.1.

<sup>799</sup> South Africa 1.3.

<sup>800</sup> Hong Kong 1.1.



pluralism in very different ways. Whereas in Hong Kong ‘mutual respect and tolerance’ of diversity are essential values to uphold, the province of the Indian Ocean expressed uncertainty over a boundary-less tolerance. In addition, they warned against what they perceived as the dangerous influence of pluralism in the church. They affirmed:

As we see it today, we note that some established provinces of the west are deeply penetrated by the philosophy of pluralism and the theory that generates it. But as we analyse it closely, we have difficulty to understand the scope of tolerance that it conveys.<sup>801</sup>

For the Indian Ocean the only type of tolerance that should be permitted is ‘tolerance within a framework’<sup>802</sup> such as the Covenant.

The West Indies was the first province to ask the CDG to include a reference to the Anglican colonial history. They felt that in section 4.1 of the Nassau draft, later to become section 2.1.1 in the final Covenant, the role of ‘mission initiatives’ in the development of the Anglican Communion, should be qualified with a direct reference to British ‘colonial expansionism’.<sup>803</sup> The USA Episcopal Church went further and, in response to the St. Andrew’s draft (2008), asked the Design Group to reword that very section with the phrase: ‘impelled by the experiences of British and American imperialism and redeemed by the selfless missionary work of the church.’<sup>804</sup> The CDG disregarded these suggestions and the final Covenant did not make any reference to the colonial or imperial history that was so central to the development of the Anglican Communion.

It is fascinating to observe the analyses that different provinces make of the cultural dynamics in contemporary Anglicanism. Some provinces use a postcolonial discourse to attack ‘western imperialism’ and ‘western cultural hegemony’, as a present, and not just a past, reality. The church of the Indian Ocean affirms:

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<sup>801</sup> Indian Ocean 2.2.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid. 2.3.

<sup>803</sup> West Indies 1.3.

<sup>804</sup> TEC 2.7.

Without this consensus in faith and practice that the covenant represents, we shall continue to be challenged by western imperialism. [...] Tolerance within a framework is possible when church life is justly determined on mutually agreed principles. This will help us to discourage unilateral imposition and diminish the extension of a western cultural hegemony.<sup>805</sup>

The reference to ‘unilateral imposition’ here does not refer to the interference of bishops from certain provinces in the canonical jurisdictions of other autonomous provinces, which these words could describe. Rather, they relate to the North American culturally contextual actions, perceived as an imposition on the rest of the Communion. Their solution to fight Western cultural imperialism is to foment doctrinal consensus, a classic modern response.

The Korean Anglican church offers the opposite analysis. Their postcolonial critique of the Covenant is precisely that, by encouraging a particular form of consensus-based unity, it promotes old ‘colonial assumptions’. These assumptions reflect the theology of conservative postcolonial provinces, described by the Korean bishops as the ‘extreme evangelical wing of Anglicanism’,<sup>806</sup> and serve their particular agenda. In their own words:

As Asian church leaders, we would like to point out that the Covenant does not liberate us Asian Anglicans from domination by the English or Western church. We see some Asian churches attempting to define Anglican unity even among Asians by simply repeating its colonial assumptions enshrining a specific period of the English history.<sup>807</sup>

The anti-neocolonial rhetoric is therefore used by both groups, directing the accusation to the other. Conservative Anglicans are accused of seeking to repeat old colonial practices, using the philosophy of empire to drive their doctrinally uniform global Anglican project. And revisionist Anglicans are accused of imposing liberal views on the rest of the

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<sup>805</sup> Indian Ocean 2.3.

<sup>806</sup> Korea 2.1.

<sup>807</sup> Ibid. 2.2.

Communion, driven by a philosophy of pluralism. This twofold critique was echoed by Michael Doe when, as director of USPG, he criticized the way in which liberal and conservative US Americans had been ‘courting and seeking to control other parts of the Communion [...] with material support.’<sup>808</sup> These strategies to influence Anglicans on the world stage through, primarily, money and resources, has clear echoes of neocolonialism. However, for Doe, there is another type of new imperialism which may prove more dangerous for Anglicans worldwide: the one promoted by the Global South in their attempts to relocate power in the Communion. For Doe: ‘[t]he last thing our world needs is the re-invention of Christendom, based now not in Rome or England but in Nigeria or Uganda.’<sup>809</sup>

Another aspect of postcolonialism addressed by some of the respondents is the dimension of independence. This notion is central to the wider postcolonial secular discourse, in as much as it asserts the sovereignty of former colonies, now independent nations. There are many examples of nationalistic postcolonial rhetoric, from African, Asian and Latin American political leaders.<sup>810</sup> In broad terms, these leaders affirm the independence of their nations to run their own affairs without the interference of other nations. This powerful rhetoric has been mirrored by some African Anglican leaders as part of what I described above as a political postcolonial discourse. Certain voices from Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda have asserted their independence and questioned historic ties with Canterbury, whilst, paradoxically, seeing no incompatibility between this assertion and their cross-boundary interference in the life of some Western provinces. In that process, they have redefined their relationship with England and the rest of the Communion.

The Church of Uganda, precisely in their clarification regarding their relationship with the CofE, affirmed that they were not interested in ‘breaking away from the Church of England or the Anglican Communion.’ Instead, their concern was that the CofE may

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<sup>808</sup> Doe, ‘From Colonialism’, 218.

<sup>809</sup> Ibid. 219.

<sup>810</sup> The most significant examples in recent decades are Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Gadhafi in Lybia, Chávez in Venezuela, Castro in Cuba, and the Ghandi-Nehru family in India. Cf. Toyin Falola (ed.), *Africa*, Vol. 4: *The End of Colonial Rule, Nationalism, and Decolonization* (Durham, NC.: Carolina Academic Press, 2002); and Srirupa Roy, *Beyond Belief: India and the Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

be following in TEC's footsteps, departing from so-called traditional teaching on human sexuality. The Ugandan Archbishop wrote:

Our current concern is that the Church of England seems to be drifting rapidly in the same direction. We are very grateful to them for sending missionaries who told us about the good news of Jesus Christ. Ironically, they seem now to be reversing themselves. Fortunately, we no longer need to be directed by them. We can read and interpret the Bible for ourselves, and we know what it says about sexual behaviour belonging between one man and one woman in holy matrimony.<sup>811</sup>

Other Anglican provinces, however, have employed the postcolonial nationalistic rhetoric simply to affirm the autonomy of national and provincial churches. For Hong Kong and the Maori Tikanga (Aotearoa New Zealand), the appeal to autonomy is firmly placed in their unique postcolonial contexts. Thus, the Chinese church affirmed:

There is no doubt that the autonomous governance of our Church, together with the affectionate but non-interfering ties with the See of Canterbury and other churches of the Communion, sit easily with the familiar crystal-clear policies of the PRC government with respect to religious affairs.<sup>812</sup>

The reference here to the People's Republic of China policy on limited religious freedom is revealing. The other example, from Aotearoa, is rooted in a particular colonial history, where Maori Anglicans experienced breaches of trust and perceived injustices in their dealings with foreign settlers. In 1992 the Anglican communities of New Zealand agreed to honour the sovereignty of each constituent group in the country and enshrined, in their new constitution, a Three Tikanga Church. These three overlapping jurisdictions gave each group (Maori, South Pacific and Anglo-Saxon) powers of self-government, alongside a commitment to share resources in a fairer way. Maori Anglicans responded to

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<sup>811</sup> <http://churchofuganda.org/news/clarification-on-the-cous-relationship-with-the-church-of-england>

Accessed 12 December 2014.

<sup>812</sup> Hong Kong 1.3.

the Covenant process with a deep sense of suspicion, especially, because they felt it could undermine their hard won autonomy. They affirmed:

For Tikanga Maori *tinio rangatiratanga* (self determination), Christian and ethnic identity are of foundational importance. Tangata whenua (the indigenous people) have a rootedness that precedes the Anglican Communion, and would not lightly cede their autonomy.<sup>813</sup>

Part of that autonomy, treasured by indigenous peoples, includes the freedom to deconstruct some aspects of inherited Western theology, in order to develop truly inculturated biblical hermeneutics. This aspect is central to the theological postcolonial discourse, pointed out above, and will be explored in more detail below in relation, particularly, to the Anglican Indigenous Network. In the responses to the Covenant drafts it is worth highlighting the concern expressed by Korea in this respect:

The Anglican Church of Korea has committed to the ministry of peace and reunification with North Korea, often facing opposition from other politically conservative Christians. Some Korean Anglicans attempt to create an Asian understanding of the Scriptures in inter-faith dialogues. What would happen to all these efforts valuable to Korean Anglican understanding of mission in our context if any other church questions or challenges them?<sup>814</sup>

In addition to colonial and postcolonial critiques, some of the respondents highlighted the role that modernity played in the development of Anglican identity. For the Church in Wales, some of the effects of globalization, in the form of fostering cultural uniformity, are negative values associated with modernity. They wrote:

We should like to point out that free communication and easily available travel gives rise to unrealistic expectations of *uniformity* and sets up a series of false cultural norms. A false cultural norm of pseudo-uniformity is created when, in

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<sup>813</sup> New Zealand 1.3.

<sup>814</sup> Korea 2.1.

reality, the different norms of one place do not impinge upon the daily life of another. The ‘flattening’ of human culture – the sense that there is a certain ‘default’ setting – is characteristic of modernity. By contrast, Anglicanism has long celebrated diversity, but not for diversity’s sake. Rather, the varied expression of Anglicanism is born of the conviction that the Gospel, because of its richness which exceeds all particularity, can be mediated in many ways.<sup>815</sup>

In an indirect and subtle way, Wales critiques what has been perceived by some as a move toward uniformity in the proposed Covenant. In contrast, they describe historic Anglicanism as celebrating diversity, rooted in the fact that the gospel both ‘exceeds all particularity’ and can be culturally mediated ‘in many ways’. Brazil is less subtle and more unambiguous when critiquing the modern mindset behind the Covenant text. In their view:

We are fully convinced that the time in which we live is marked by symptoms that value highly the building up of networks and other manifestations of communion in a spontaneous way in the various aspects of human life. Insisting on a formal and juridical Covenant, with the logic of discipline and exercise of power, means to move in the opposite direction, thus returning to the days of Modernity, with its Confessions, Covenants, Diets and other rational instruments of theological consensus.<sup>816</sup>

For Brazil, resisting to embrace some of the positive aspects of postmodern culture, including the emphasis on relational networks, is a form of regression. The Covenant, for them, is regarded as a ‘rational instrument of theological consensus’ from a bygone age. This analysis, however, is only partially correct, since the reality in the world, and by extension in the Anglican Communion, is that modern and postmodern worldviews continue to coexist alongside each other. The transition from one to the other, which will be explored below, is the cause of much of the angst and many of the tensions experienced by Anglicans today.

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<sup>815</sup> Wales 3.3-4.

<sup>816</sup> Brazil 2.1.

To illustrate the latter point, one has to listen to the critiques coming from conservative African churches. Nigeria expressed their concern with these words: '[i]n its present state, the covenant is out to forge a post-modern Anglican Communion, whose trappings will be accommodative of all shades of religious opinions and practices.'<sup>817</sup> The fear of theological diversity, with its implicit affirmation of uniformity, is a recurring theme in Anglican conservative discourse and is profoundly rooted in a modern worldview.

The last two examples are relevant because of the implications they have for the churches' engagement with the dominant cultures. They illustrate two opposing responses to culture. Brazil affirms the importance of a postmodern inculturation, whereas Nigeria advocates a countercultural response. They also reflect, as pointed out above, the overlapping cultural worldviews at this transitional period in history.

#### **7.4. Cultural transitions and clashes in contemporary Anglicanism**

In the initial stages of this investigation, between 2013 and 2014, my working thesis was that the clash in contemporary Anglicanism was not primarily theological or ecclesiological, but cultural. I identified two competing cultural forces: postmodernity and postcolonialism. My academic instinct, drawn from a partial analysis of the data, was that the clash between these two cultural paradigms was at the centre of the recent crisis. This was confirmed by some of the rhetoric proceeding from certain quarters of the Communion.

In October of 2014, I put this thesis to the test during a two month visit to New Zealand. There, I was able to observe, hear and experience some of the realities of Anglicans in what is both a postcolonial and a postmodern context. In that process, I discovered two fundamental flaws in my initial thesis. One, that postmodern and postcolonial contexts were not exclusive of each other, or essentially opposed to one another, but could coexist in creative tension. And two, that the cultural clashes were much more complex and multilayered than I had originally anticipated. Whereas the initial premise remained unchanged, namely, the crucial role played by culture in the recent crisis, its ramifications were evidently more subtle and diverse.

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<sup>817</sup> Nigeria 2.1.

In New Zealand, for instance, as pointed out above, the Maori communities live simultaneously in a postcolonial and a postmodern context. Their response to their context is precisely to articulate a postcolonial discourse using postmodern deconstruction-reconstruction categories. The result is closer to an indigenous liberation or emancipation theology, than to a conservative theology that is suspicious of any change. A similar language is used in Brazil, Korea, Japan, and South Africa.

The responses to the Covenant drafts analyzed above also reflect the complexity of the cultural tensions in the Communion. The real clashes, drawn from the available evidence, are best described as transitional cultural tensions. In other words, they are found in the matrix between modern and postmodern, and between colonial and postcolonial attitudes. Though in the case of the latter it becomes more complicated, given the neocolonial experiences of many national churches. From a sociological perspective, the above transitions involve a radical rupture with the world of the past. According to Doyle Johnson:

The worldview associated with modernity [...] was grounded in the belief that the steady growth of scientific knowledge would insure continued social and intellectual progress. Postmodern theorists, in contrast, would dispute the notion that any system of knowledge, including science itself, can provide assurance of ultimate truth or guarantee continued progress. Instead, definitions of valid knowledge and progress are relative and vary for people with divergent cultural traditions or different social locations. They see many of the defining features of modernity as having been superseded, rejected, or radically transformed in ways that mark a major transition to a new era.<sup>818</sup>

Brazilian theologian Carlos Calvani has been one of the voices to articulate this position, and to identify this cultural transition as one of the key reasons for the recent inter-Anglican divisions. According to him, the 'crisis in the Anglican Communion is not only theological, hermeneutical or institutional; it is something deeper, [...] a reflection of the overall crisis of modernity.'<sup>819</sup> For him:

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<sup>818</sup> Johnson, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 543.

<sup>819</sup> Calvani, 'From Modernity to Postmodernity', 104.



The Anglican Communion was born in modernity. Institutionally speaking, it itself is a product of modernity and its crisis reveals the larger crisis of modernity. My theory is that the Anglican Communion as an institutional body is one of the last achievements of modernity in the religious arena. [...] the Anglican Communion is being challenged to interpret the signs of the times, to understand better the postmodern environment, and to rethink its existence. This requires new paradigms and a review of concepts.<sup>820</sup>

Ian Douglas too identifies the transition from modernity to postmodernity as a fundamental source of tensions in the recent crisis. This transition is mirrored by another shift, from colonialism to postcolonialism For the North American Episcopal theologian:

The movement within Anglicanism from being a church grounded in modernity and secure in the Enlightenment, to postmodern or extra-modern reality is as tumultuous as the shift from colonialism to postcolonialism. [...] The transition in the Anglican world from colonialism to postcolonialism and from modernity to postmodernity is terrifying, especially for those individuals who historically have been the most privileged, most in control, most secure in the colonial Enlightenment world. The radical transition afoot in the Anglican Communion is terrifying, for it means that Anglicans in the West – especially heterosexual, white male clerics – will no longer have the power and control that they have enjoyed for so long. They thus feel anxious, confused, lost in a sea of change.<sup>821</sup>

According to Douglas, as a result of the above transition, Anglican church leaders are seeking ‘to reassert control, reassert power, put Humpty Dumpty back together again, with all the King's horses and all the King's men.’<sup>822</sup> They do so by firmly rooting their theology in modernity and by acting in a colonial fashion. ‘What results,’ according to Douglas, ‘is a new confessionalism, as insecure individuals and those who fear loss of

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<sup>820</sup> Ibid.

<sup>821</sup> Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 31. This experience of disorientation and disturbance of direction is depicted by Bhabha in his influential study of modernity, postmodernity and postcoloniality: Homi K. Bhabha, *The location of culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>822</sup> Ibid.

power in these changing times struggle gallantly to nail down Anglican theology and beliefs.<sup>823</sup> A similar view is echoed by Bishop Simon Chiwanga from Tanzania. Chiwanga, as Chair of the ACC in 1999, affirmed that:

In these times of profound change, many who are fearful of the future seek security and solace in what they perceive as safe and sound ... Whether confession or curia, catechism or conference, constitution or council, the fearful are looking for easy answers.<sup>824</sup>

Calvani, Douglas and Chiwanga, all agree that among the signs of this transition is a form of cultural *metathesiophobia*, or deep fear of change, by a large number of Anglicans. This goes hand in hand with other modern phobias, such as fear of epistemological uncertainty, fear of paradox, or fear of pluralism. As a result, those unable to embrace postmodernity, energetically foment inherited modern patterns. In this process new forms of confessionalism, fundamentalist biblicism, and structural hierarchization (new curialization) emerge.

Australian theologian Bruce Kaye has focused his analysis on the colonial-postcolonial tensions. These dynamics are essential to understand the developing role of the Global South in the Anglican Communion. In his view:

It is easy to notice in this crisis underlying dynamics of a colonial past. The residual influence of the colonial missionary period and its styles and methods do not lie far below the surface. The demographics of the crisis make this apparent. The role of the Global South network [...] is moving from a mission and evangelism facilitator to a power bloc of churches in opposition to the churches of the former empires.<sup>825</sup>

The postcolonial-postmodern binary, as shown above, is insufficient to explain the recent crisis in world Anglicanism. The complexity of the cultural tensions needs to acknowledge the tumultuous shift from modernity to postmodernity. It also needs to

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<sup>823</sup> Ibid.

<sup>824</sup> Ibid. 34-35.

<sup>825</sup> Kaye, *Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 194.

recognize the different cultural contexts. At the risk of oversimplifying the great diversity of cultures in global Anglicanism, I have chosen to focus on two dominant macro-cultural contexts: the Western one, largely European and Anglo-Saxon; and the postcolonial one, mostly African and Asian, but also Latin American and indigenous. On the basis of these categories it is possible to identify four types of major cultural clashes and two sets of cultural-theological alignments.

***(1) Clash between Western modern and Western postmodern***

This clash between those who have a modern or a postmodern worldview in the West has been, according to some observers, the key trigger of the recent crisis. The clash is often translated as between theologically conservative and progressive groups mostly in North America, and to a lesser extent in Europe and Oceania. This is visible in the Anglican Church of Australia, where the overall church is representative of the full breadth of Anglican diversity, yet one diocese, Sydney, has presented itself as the bastion of conservative reformed Anglicanism, and has played a key role in resourcing and financially supporting the GAFCON. And it is mostly connected in the USA with the so-called ‘culture wars’ between the conservative Christian right and liberal Americans. This will be explored in more detail below. Suffice it to say at this stage that the taking of this internal national conflict to foreign soil (mostly Africa), has globalized this clash and magnified the tensions in the Communion.

***(2) Clash between postcolonial modern and Western postmodern***

The clash between modern and postmodern Anglicans has been highlighted the most in the relationship between modern postcolonial churches and Western postmodern provinces. As pointed out above, the theological and cultural differences here have been magnified by a reference to a postcolonial nationalist rhetoric. The conflict has been presented not just as a theological one, between so-called ‘orthodox’ and ‘revisionist’ Anglicans, but as one in which the colonial past, and the postcolonial and neocolonial present realities, have acted as a permanent backdrop to the crisis. This has been staged

symbolically by the clash between the largely postmodern and liberal USA Episcopal Church, and the postcolonial, modern and conservative Church of Nigeria.<sup>826</sup>

**(3) *Clash between postcolonial modern and postcolonial postmodern***

This tension has been seen very clearly in South America. There, the churches of Chile and Argentina, culturally modern and conservative, have been in conflict with Anglicans from Uruguay and Brazil, who share a more liberal theology and who have employed an overtly postmodern discourse. It has also been visible in Africa, where, as pointed out above, national churches like Nigeria have used an anti-postmodern rhetoric, whilst others, like Southern Africa, have affirmed postmodernity as a positive cultural paradigm. Likewise, globally, some postcolonial indigenous churches, associated to the Anglican Indigenous Network have been embarked on a process of articulating what could be described as a deconstructionist postmodern theology.

**(4) *Clash between Western modern and postcolonial modern***

This tension has emerged, particularly, from the work of conservative US American Episcopalians in Africa. It is therefore connected with the globalization of the so-called American culture wars described above, and with the use of financial resources to gain the support of poorer churches. Kapya Kaoma gives several examples of the shift in financial relations between USA and African churches. According to him, since the 1990s conservative US groups have increased the funding of many of the conservative African churches, but many churches and institutions have refused to receive funding from conservative US Anglicans.<sup>827</sup> The reasons for this can be quite complex, from lack of trust, to fear of losing ongoing support from TEC, or suspicion of neocolonial agendas from the conservative groups. The clash between these groups is less theological and more connected with financial stability and long standing relationships with TEC. The

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<sup>826</sup> This clash is also connected to competing Anglican narratives from different parts of the world based on different reported facts and different cultural expectations. Cf. Jesse Zink, *Backpacking through the Anglican Communion: a search for unity* (New York: Morehouse Publishing, 2014).

<sup>827</sup> Cf. Kapya John Kaoma, *Globalizing the Culture Wars: U.S. Conservatives, African Churches and Homophobia* (Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates, 2009). Kaoma affirms that regarding TEC, one Kenyan professor told PRA: ‘American conservatives have been in my office several times requesting that we cut ties with TEC and other progressive funders in exchange for their funds. They have succeeded in getting small colleges into their camp, but we have refused.’ 9 [Aaron Mwesigye, interview by author, Kampala, Uganda, March 2009.]

clash is therefore more between Western and postcolonial contexts, than between modern and postmodern attitudes.

In all the above cases, groups are defined by a cultural-theological matrix, which in turn react negatively toward a different cultural-theological group. What follows are two examples of the opposite. That is, of positive alignments between Western and postcolonial Anglicans, on the basis of a shared cultural paradigm: modern or postmodern.

### ***1. The modern alignment between Western and postcolonial Anglicans***

This is certainly the most significant alignment of the two, under the banner of several names and acronyms: Global South, GAFCON, FCA and more recently GFCA.<sup>828</sup> It is formed by an unlikely mix of individuals. Michael Doe, commenting on the composition of the Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans' alliance has observed that 'support for FCA has not been as uniform as some had wanted or feared: it is easier for a coalition of traditionalists, charismatics and fundamentalists to know what they are against than to work out a shared agenda for the future.'<sup>829</sup> In fact there seems to be no shared detailed agenda, at least public, beyond the 2008 Jerusalem Declaration. This official declaration was set within a lengthier statement in which those attending the conference identified the malaise affecting Western society and, by extension, Western churches. They affirmed:

We grieve for the spiritual decline in the most economically developed nations, where the forces of militant secularism and pluralism are eating away the fabric of society and churches are compromised and enfeebled in their witness. [...] To meet these challenges will require Christians to work together to understand and oppose these forces and to liberate those under their sway. It will entail the planting of new churches among unreached peoples and also committed action to restore authentic Christianity to compromised churches.<sup>830</sup>

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<sup>828</sup> In the Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans official website, they distinguish between GAFCON (Global Anglican Future Conference) as the conference, and GFCA (Global Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans) as the movement. See: <http://fca.net/about> Accessed 17 March 2015.

<sup>829</sup> Doe, 'From Colonialism', 215. This view is also expressed by Mark Chapman, Ian Douglas and Caroline Addington Hall, among others. See bibliography.

<sup>830</sup> See: [http://gafcon.org/news/gafcon\\_final\\_statement](http://gafcon.org/news/gafcon_final_statement) Accessed 17 March 2015.

This critique of pluralist, secular, postmodern culture on the one hand, and the appeal to ‘oppose these forces’ in order to ‘restore authentic Christianity’ on the other, are symptomatic of the cultural clash described above. The critiques of secularism by church institutions and leadership is nothing new.<sup>831</sup> However, in this particular statement there is no reference to the fact that the version of Christianity that has lost influence in the West, through ‘the forces of militant secularism and pluralism’ is actually the ‘Christendom’ model. One more connected with empire and modernity, than with any of the biblical ecclesiological models they allege to defend. This raises an important question: should one assume that their church planting model seeks to perpetuate Christendom rather than Christianity? The neocolonial or reversed colonial missionary work of some Global South provinces in Western countries could point in that direction. It also highlights that although the discourse of these groups presents itself as primarily theological, what holds them together is connected less with theology and more with a particular worldview rooted in modernity. They are united by a shared modern paradigm. Their strong opposition to the socio-cultural manifestations of postmodernity, as pointed out above, is linked to the dynamics of the modern-to-postmodern transition, and to the notion of cultural metathesiophobia.

## **2. *The alignment between Western postmodern and postcolonial Anglicans***

Less has been written about this particular alignment. Most of these groups interact via formal and informal networks through initiatives like the recent TEC and African Primates mission network. In a communiqué issued by primates from Burundi, Central Africa, Southern Africa, Tanzania, West Africa and the USA, they expressed the desire ‘to build missional partnerships among our churches.’<sup>832</sup> They described some of the themes and initial commitments of their encounter thus:

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<sup>831</sup> One of the best scholarly theological critiques of secularization is by the former pope, Joseph Ratzinger, in conversation with neo-Marxist philosopher Jurgen Habermas. See: Jurgen Habermas, and Joseph Ratzinger, *The Dialectics of Secularization: On Reason and Religion* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006).

<sup>832</sup> ‘A Communique: Transformation through Friendship.’ October 8-10, 2014. The General Theological Seminary, New York City. The statement was signed by the following bishops and primates: Bernard Ntahoturi (Archbishop of Burundi); Albert Chama (Archbishop of Central Africa); Thabo Makgoba (Archbishop of Southern Africa); Jacob Chimeledya (Archbishop of Tanzania); Katharine Jefferts Schori (Presiding Bishop of The Episcopal Church); Daniel Sarfo (Archbishop of West Africa); Stacy F. Sauls (Chief Operating Officer, TEC); Mary Gray-Reeves (Bishop of El Camino Real); Ogé

Framing our conversation in the context of human dignity and flourishing, the sustainability of our common ministry, and the care of the Earth, we found several subjects for fruitful collaboration that will allow us to share our gifts with each other. We committed ourselves to exploring pension schemes, stewardship of finances and other resources (management and investment), health services, mining and related environmental issues, advocacy, migration and statelessness, human trafficking, religious freedom, and theological education.<sup>833</sup>

The set of priorities laid out above reflects a wide range of objectives: from economic to humanitarian, from environmental to educational. Despite the rhetoric of ‘sharing our gifts with each other’, it seems obvious that financially at least, this is an uneven partnership. This alliance between North Americans and Africans highlights the unwillingness of many African provinces to break their relational and financial ties with TEC. However, economic dependency may become a back door to a neocolonial dynamic through which TEC seeks to reduce the homophobic noise coming from within African Anglicanism. This alliance also reflects the lack of both unity and uniformity within the Global South. It accentuates the cultural, theological and ecclesiological diversity present in sub-Saharan Africa. It is also a symptom of the shift taking place in Africa itself from modernity to postmodernity, mediated by their postcolonial contexts, and articulated by theologians such as Maliaba Kenzo.<sup>834</sup>

A different type of alliance has been articulated by Maori theologian Jenny Plane Te Paa. She makes an indigenous plea to develop alliances between Anglicans who have experienced exclusion in the Communion. Te Paa sees a commonality in the experience of women, indigenous and gay people in the global church. ‘First ethnicity, then gender, and now sexuality,’ she writes, and then asks, ‘how many more variations on incredibly

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Beauvoir (Bishop Suffragan of Haiti) and Clifton Daniel, III (Bishop Provisional of Pennsylvania). See: <http://episcopaldigitalnetwork.com/ens/2014/10/28/episcopal-church-african-primates-bishops-issue-communique/> Accessed 17 March 2015.

<sup>833</sup> Ibid.

<sup>834</sup> Cf. Kenzo, ‘Thinking otherwise’.

similar themes do we need before we are compelled to say that enough is enough?’<sup>835</sup> Her proposal is bold:

I believe we need to realign ourselves strategically as radically diverse *via media* Anglicans over and above any distinctive identity-based claims to which we have previously given priority. We need with great urgency to establish a common holy-ground coalition of inclusive Anglicans. [...] We must commit ourselves to redeeming the structural injustices still affecting many and various particular groups of Anglicans.<sup>836</sup>

It is difficult to assess whether Te Paa’s proposal has been met with enthusiasm either by indigenous or inclusive Anglicans. From the evidence shown by official documents issued by both groups, it seems that on the ground such alliances have not crystallized. Her words are best understood in the context of pre and post Lambeth 2008, and the increasing antagonism between the most conservative end of the Global South and the most liberal end of the Communion. Her views, nonetheless, highlight that both postcolonial indigenous people and inclusive westerners could, at least theoretically, operate within a common postmodern paradigm. It remains to be seen if this type of coalition may one day succeed.

### **7.5. Globalization and the culture wars beyond the Covenant**

The global dimension of contemporary Anglicanism has, as pointed out above, played a key role in the development of networks and alliances. This global reality is acknowledged early on in the Covenant with these words: ‘Our life together reflects the blessings of God (even as it exposes our failures in faith, hope and love) in growing our Communion into a *truly global family*.’<sup>837</sup> Precisely what a ‘truly global family’ would look like, or how a global family of churches would qualify to be considered ‘true’ or ‘authentic’, is not made clear in the Covenant. Beyond the assertions made in sections 1-

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<sup>835</sup> Jenny Plane Te Paa, “‘Fourth’ Guessing the Spirit: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Global Anglicanism from an Indigenous Laywoman”, *ATR* 90.1 (2008), 127.

<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.* 126; 128.

<sup>837</sup> TAC Introduction, 7. My italics.



3, which are either descriptive (praxis ecclesiology) or aspirational (clothed in previously used theological language), nothing new is added to explain the meaning of this statement.

To what extent the recent developments in global Anglicanism are connected with the wider phenomenon of globalization has attracted some attention. Brazilian philosopher and theologian Jaci Maraschin is one of the Latin American voices to have offered a postmodern critique of globalization. For him, modernity ‘stands for globalization,’<sup>838</sup> whereas postmodernity ‘criticizes globalization in favor of fragmentation.’<sup>839</sup> In his words: ‘Globalization is an impossible venture. It represents the aim of domination by certain central powers in order to homogenize culture at the expense of context.’<sup>840</sup> Johnson echoes this critique from a sociological perspective. For him:

An important part of the background for postmodern types of theory is the way the globalization process is eroding the autonomy of nation-states, expanding the level of interdependence among the different societies and regions of the world, and setting the stage for what Huntington (1996) refers to as a potential “clash of civilizations.” The notion that increased levels of global interaction will increase the risk of a major civilizational conflict obviously reflects an orientation toward cultural diversity that contrasts with the nonauthoritarian or nonjudgmental postmodern response to pluralism.<sup>841</sup>

It is possible to draw parallels between Johnson’s analysis of cultural or civilization conflicts in today’s world, and the recent crisis enacted by the Anglican Communion. For Johnson, the ‘increased levels of both interdependence and conflict on a global level include several interrelated dimensions: economic, political, military, cultural, and

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<sup>838</sup> Maraschin, ‘Culture, Spirit and Worship’, 59.

<sup>839</sup> Ibid. 60.

<sup>840</sup> Ibid. 61.

<sup>841</sup> Johnson, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 550-551.

social.’<sup>842</sup> He offers an example from international politics, which echoes some of the dynamics of the conflict in global Anglicanism. According to him:

In a global political environment with multiple transnational and regional centers of power, it is difficult even for dominant societies to act unilaterally in their relations with one another, or with the multinational corporations located within their borders. Although various types of alliances among different nation states are established to defend national interests (economic, political, and military), such relationships create a web of constraints and obligations that limit the rights and the ability even of dominant societies to act in disregard of the interests and power of other societies.<sup>843</sup>

These dynamics, present in the secular world, as shown above, have also played a key role in global Anglicanism. Kaye suggests that in the Anglican Communion there are three centres of power competing for influence, and appealing to different sources of authority. According to the Australian theologian:

In some respects the crisis represents a new configuration of power in worldwide Anglicanism, concerning not only its location but also its character. It could be seen as a struggle between the power of tradition and history represented by Canterbury, of money represented by New York, where the Episcopal Church Centre and Trinity Wall Street foundation are located, and of numbers represented by Lagos, the centre of the fastest-growing national Anglican Church in the world.<sup>844</sup>

Whereas this analysis may contain some elements of truth and its clarity and simplicity may be appealing, the global Anglican picture is more complex. Of Kaye’s three sources of power (history, money, and numbers) only one of them would really pass the test,

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<sup>842</sup> Ibid. 551. For analyses of different dimensions of globalization as they are related in various ways to global capitalism, see: Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens (eds.), *Global Capitalism* (New York: The New Press, 2001).

<sup>843</sup> Ibid. 552.

<sup>844</sup> Kaye, *Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 194-195.

namely Canterbury as a historic reference for world Anglicans. And even this one could hardly be described as actively struggling for power. Canterbury has, from the first Lambeth Conference in 1867, sought to keep a low profile, affirming the autonomy of other provinces, stressing the collegiate role of its archbishop, as *primus inter pares*, and being content as a symbolic centre of unity. Although colonial attitudes may have been displayed at different times during the period of British imperialism, it would be difficult to find recent unequivocal examples of Canterbury struggling for power in the Communion.

Likewise, the issue of money is more complex and dispersed than Kaye's analysis would suggest. It is not just the USA and New York that have been using money to exercise influence in the Communion. The CofE has been the highest contributor to the inter-Anglican budget, followed by TEC, and British sponsored missionary societies continue to operate globally. On the other hand, it is a well known fact that in the recent Global South realignment, the financial resources have come almost exclusively from the Sydney diocese in Australia, and from wealthy schismatic conservative Episcopal churches in the USA. Although the financial situation in Sydney has changed dramatically in recent years, it is worth noting that there is not just one single centre of money-driven-power, but several dispersed centres in the West. It is also important to highlight that it is not just liberal Anglicanism (with its centre in Trinity Wall Street) that has and uses money and resources globally, but, as shown above, a number of conservative groups have been acting in the same way.

Finally, the reference to membership numbers is also arguably disputable. It is certainly true that numeric growth and strength is used by some African provinces as a sign of power. This seems to be an important aspect of the Global South discourse. However, as I demonstrated in chapter 5, the actual figures are much harder to ascertain. The demographic shift from North to South, universally and unquestioningly accepted by most Anglican scholars, may be less dramatic than Nigerian Anglicans would suggest. This is particularly true when global Anglican membership is estimated on the basis of its inner circle. The balance between Global South and the rest of the Communion seems more uniform than may otherwise be drawn from the GAFCON rhetoric.

Kaye is correct, nevertheless, in the fundamental premise of his argument, namely the overt or covert appeal to these three sources to demonstrate power. However, in the

current globalized context the struggle for influence has a more dispersed and complex nature. At the heart of this struggle, as pointed out above, are cultural clashes that seem magnified by the global dynamics of inter-Anglican relations. Amongst the social critiques that have offered sociological explanations for these conflicts, two are particularly relevant, those by James Hunter and Samuel Huntington.

For Hunter, the religious and political conflicts in the USA on issues such as abortion or homosexuality are the inevitable result of an underlying 'culture war'.<sup>845</sup> According to him, there are two opposing cultural forces at war in American society: cultural conservatism and cultural liberalism. Although Hunter's work has also been criticized by a number of scholars,<sup>846</sup> his thesis has influenced sociological debate over the past decades. African and American critics, such as Hassett and Kaoma, have seen in the recent Anglican Communion conflict a globalization of Hunter's 'culture wars'.<sup>847</sup>

Kaoma illustrates the globalization of the inter-Anglican conflict with a local example. He describes the situation of a conservative Episcopal parish, All Saints' Irondequoit, New York, currently under the jurisdiction of the Church of Uganda. In a statement, the conservative USA group 'Anglican Network' defended the status of this parish with the following argument: 'The global reality is that All Saints Church is now a congregation of the eight-million member Church of Uganda, and finds it a more biblically faithful and supportive environment than the 2.3-million-member Episcopal Church.'<sup>848</sup> Although the language of an inter-Anglican 'culture war' may not be totally helpful, it is consistent with the various cultural transitional clashes described above.

Samuel Huntington, along similar lines, developed in the 1990s his theory of the 'clash of civilizations'. In his 1993 *Foreign Affairs* article, he affirmed:

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<sup>845</sup> Cf. James D. Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

<sup>846</sup> Cf. Nancy J. Davis and Robert V. Robinson, 'Religious Orthodoxy in American Society: The Myth of a Monolithic Camp', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 35.3 (1996), 229-45; Jay Demerath, 'The Battle over a U.S. Culture War: Inflated Rhetoric vs. Inflamed Reality', *The Forum* 3.2 (2005); Dale McConkey, 'Whither Hunter's culture war? Shifts in evangelical morality, 1988-1998', *Sociology of Religion* 62.2 (2001), 149-74. Most of these criticisms have claimed that, in one way or another, Hunter overemphasized the centrifugal and divisive forces in American culture and gave insufficient attention to centripetal, moderating, and unifying tendencies.

<sup>847</sup> Cf. Hassett, *Anglican Communion in Crisis*, 33-34; and Kaoma, *Globalizing the Culture Wars*.

<sup>848</sup> Kaoma, *Globalizing the Culture Wars*, 16. Referenced as: The Anglican Council Network. "All Saints Rejoices in its New Life," 2005, <http://www.acn-us.org/archive/2005/12/all-saintsrejoices-in-its-new-life.html> (13 May 2009).

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. [...] The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.<sup>849</sup>

For Huntington, religion in general, and fundamentalist religious movements in particular, will play a crucial role in these cultural clashes. According to him, the ‘revival of religion, “la revanche de Dieu,” as Gilles Kepel labeled it, provides a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilizations.’<sup>850</sup> In his view:

The clash of civilization thus occurs at two levels. At the micro-level, adjacent groups along the fault lines between civilizations struggle, often violently, over the control of territory and each other. At the macro-level, states from different civilizations compete for relative military and economic power, struggle over the control of international institutions and third parties, and competitively promote their particular political and religious values.<sup>851</sup>

This analysis could be extended to the recent crisis in the Anglican Communion. The cultural clash between broadly modern-conservative and largely postmodern-inclusive groups, has been visible at both levels. At the micro-level, as shown above, conflict within national churches has led to a realignment of some local churches with other dioceses or provinces. This has been the case, particularly in North America. At a macro-level, the power struggles between the dominant cultural groups on the global stage has led to the formation of inter-Anglican alliances and networks, along theological-cultural fault lines. It has also led conservative provinces to seek a bigger influence in the international Anglican institutions, especially by requesting an enhanced type of authority for two of the four instruments of communion: the Lambeth Conference and the

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<sup>849</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, ‘The Clash of Civilizations?’, *Foreign Affairs* 72.3 (1993), 22.

<sup>850</sup> *Ibid.* 26.

<sup>851</sup> *Ibid.* 29.

Primates' Meeting. Interestingly, these two international institutions are not synodical, representing lay and ordained people, but entirely episcopocentric, reflecting a particular approach to authority.

Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' theory has been criticized for offering a too simplistic, unoriginal and Western interventionist approach to global tensions, and for describing world civilizations as monolithic and homogeneous entities.<sup>852</sup> Although some of his analysis is overly centred on the clash between two seemingly uniform civilizations, the West and Islam, both of which are profoundly diverse, he has nonetheless drawn attention to the key role of cultural values in these conflicts. According to Johnson, the clash of values is deeply connected with how different groups respond to pluralism. In his opinion:

Tolerant acceptance of cultural pluralism is clearly a pattern that not everyone would accept. For some, the confrontation with beliefs and lifestyles that are different leads to a sense of being threatened and therefore determined to maintain their own particular culture as superior to others and to defend it against the contaminating influence of competing cultures. This is the basic orientation that today is reflected in various forms of cultural fundamentalism. A major contrast in worldviews can be identified in American society, and globally, between those who are open to cultural diversity and those who insist on the superiority of their own culture. For some of the latter, the desire to defend their own culture is sometimes transformed into a desire to expand its influence and displace other cultures in the process. It is this process that can lead to the clash of civilizations that Huntington analyzed.<sup>853</sup>

The anti-pluralism discourse of the Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans, on the one hand, and the pro-pluralism stance of many Anglican provinces on the other provide a clear illustration of Johnson's point. Likewise, the warnings of some Anglican scholars and

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<sup>852</sup> One of Huntington's main critics has been Edward Said, professor at Columbia University. Cf. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1973); and Edward Said, 'The Myth of "The Clash of Civilizations."' Lecture delivered at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, 1998 (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 2005).

<sup>853</sup> Johnson, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 551.

leaders against new forms of colonialism, neo-confessionalism, or even the reinvention of Christendom, are all symptomatic of the deeper clashes highlighted above. In the case of the Anglican Communion, I have argued here, the most fundamental cultural tensions are found in the transition from modernity to postmodernity, against the backdrops of Western or postcolonial cultural contexts.

## **7.6. Conclusions**

In this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate the crucial role played by culture both in shaping Anglican identity and as a source of the recent tensions. The study of the provincial responses to the Covenant drafts has revealed the great diversity of views on culture within the Communion, and the complex dynamics of cultural clashes and alignments. It has also exposed the subtle nature of macro-cultural paradigms at work in contemporary Anglicanism, particularly with reference to the transitions from modernity to postmodernity in Western and postcolonial contexts. The significance of culture, therefore, cannot be underestimated.

In the light of these conclusions, I seek to explore in the next chapter the ecclesiological significance of the local/national culture (cultural contextuality), as well as its relationship to the wider church (relational catholicity), in contemporary Anglican identity formulation. This will serve as the basis for the model proposed in chapter 9, based on the notion of cultural and theological *mestizaje*.

## Chapter 8. Cultural contextuality and relational catholicity

### 8.1. The tensions between relational catholicity and cultural contextuality

Anglicanism has historically existed and flourished on the cusp of the complex balance between the universal and the local. Especially since the development of the Anglican Communion, Anglicans have wrestled to define their identity by holding together, often in critical tension, these two dimensions.

The universal, described by some as ‘apostolic catholicity’,<sup>854</sup> ‘contained catholicity’,<sup>855</sup> ‘communion’,<sup>856</sup> ‘the whole’,<sup>857</sup> or simply ‘catholicity’,<sup>858</sup> makes reference to the global ecclesial context. In contemporary Anglicanism this includes both inter-Anglican and ecumenical relations. Sociologically and theologically, Anglicans – like many other Christians – experience this dimension in a relational manner. This was particularly stressed in the Covenant drafting process by many of the respondents. Relational catholicity is therefore, in my view, the best way to describe the type of catholicity lived out by Anglicans. One based on both social and spiritual-sacramental relationships, where communion is both tangible – at the level of shared human relationships, with its highest manifestation at the eucharistic Table – and theological, in its deepest metaphysical sense of the mystical communion with Christ.

On the other hand, the local, described by some as ‘particularity’,<sup>859</sup> ‘the parts’,<sup>860</sup> ‘territoriality’,<sup>861</sup> or ‘vernacular moments’,<sup>862</sup> highlights the specific geographical context (nation, province, diocese, parish) in which the local church operates. This context is, as pointed out in previous chapters, profoundly influenced by its surrounding culture, and it

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<sup>854</sup> Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 40.

<sup>855</sup> Mark Chapman, ‘Catholicity and the Future of Anglicanism’, in Mark Chapman (ed.), *The Hope of Things to Come: Anglicanism and the future* (London/New York: Mowbray, 2010), 121; and Mark Chapman, et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies*, (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 4.

<sup>856</sup> Colin Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity* (London, Church Publishing House, 2005), 85-93.

<sup>857</sup> Duggan, ‘The Postcolonial Paradox’, 67-77.

<sup>858</sup> Percy, *39 New Articles*, 30-31.

<sup>859</sup> Ibid.

<sup>860</sup> Duggan, ‘The Postcolonial Paradox’, 67-77.

<sup>861</sup> Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity*, 79-84.

<sup>862</sup> Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 40.



cannot be understood without reference to it. Cultural contextuality is therefore, in my view, the most accurate way to describe this local dimension.

The tensions between cultural contextuality and relational catholicity emerge when one dimension tries to assert itself over the other. This has been central to the recent crisis over human sexuality in the Anglican Communion, as different national churches appealed to one or the other in defence of a particular view or practice. Paradoxically, despite their significance and centrality, these tensions were not sufficiently explored in the Anglican Covenant. One might even argue that the CDG hugely underestimated, or virtually ignored such tensions in its articulation of Anglican identity.

In the process leading up to the redaction of the Covenant itself, from the Virginia and Windsor Reports through to the various Covenant drafts, the tension was resolved by an unequivocal appeal to catholicity over particularity. This emphasis, whilst having some supporters,<sup>863</sup> has been critiqued by others. According to Calvani, for instance, the key issues with the global Anglican institutions claim to universality is that they do ‘not support the inevitable differences that arise from multiplicity.’<sup>864</sup> This, in turn, has a direct negative impact on the flourishing of authentic, local ecclesiologies.

An added difficulty of asserting catholicity over contextuality is connected with the language of ‘whole’ and ‘parts’ used in the Windsor Report, and implicit in the Covenant. Joseph Duggan in his article, ‘The Postcolonial Paradox’,<sup>865</sup> addresses some of the complexities and paradoxes around the use of the metaphysical concept of whole-parts in Anglican ecclesiology. He maps out the development of this notion from Aquinas’ distinction, in the catholic tradition, through the Elizabethan divines, in the reformed tradition, who recognized the Church of England as a part of the whole Catholic Church, to the more recent redefinition of this idea where the Anglican Communion becomes the whole, and its provinces the parts. He takes this development even further and shows, through recent examples of excommunications and inter-provincial cross-boundary activity, that the provinces of the Communion have laid claim to universality

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<sup>863</sup> Paul Avis is one of the main supporters of the Covenant’s emphasis on catholicity over particularity. Cf. Avis, ‘Editorial: the Anglican Covenant’, 293-296. Mark Chapman, though in principle happy with the notion of a Covenant, is more cautious about its effects and implications. Cf Chapman, *The Anglican Covenant*, 1-34.

<sup>864</sup> Calvani, ‘From Modernity to Postmodernity’, 109.

<sup>865</sup> Duggan, ‘The Postcolonial Paradox’.

by acting with the authority of the whole. For Duggan, the application of whole-part language to ecclesial structures, in detriment of its original theological use, is problematic in contemporary Anglicanism. He raises a significant question:

What has been the impact of these ecclesial relations changes on the metaphysical whole, the Body of Christ and Anglicanism's desire to be a postcolonial part of the Christian, reformed catholic story? By insisting on whole-parts language The Windsor Report authors make the Anglican Communion vulnerable to a postcolonial evaluation of the integrity of its metaphysical participation in the Body of Christ. By not mapping any ecclesiological events in terms of whole-parts principles Anglicans have lost sight of the metaphysical-theological requirements of whole-parts principles where there is only one whole, one Body of Christ in which all are parts. The English reformers minimally knew this but contemporary Anglicans have lost their ecclesiological bearings. Whole-parts have been arbitrarily used failing to carry the authority that The Windsor Report authors sought as their foundation.<sup>866</sup>

Duggan concludes that the whole-parts language is not a helpful one in contemporary Anglican ecclesiology, for it perpetuates power games, whilst being unable to create a space where unity and diversity can coexist.<sup>867</sup> William Sachs too has identified this tension between catholicity and contextuality as one of the greatest challenges facing Anglicanism today. For him, the issue at stake is not the diversity that emerges from contextuality *per se*, but the way in which diverse voices claim to have final authority to define what is Anglican and what isn't.<sup>868</sup> According to Sachs:

A cacophony of voices with equal claim to being normatively Anglican has arisen without a means to mediate among them. Thus, the history of modern Anglican life reveals a bewildering profusion of claims to be Anglican and a pervasive tension between order and community. That is, in manifold ways, Anglicans have

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<sup>866</sup> Ibid. 71-72.

<sup>867</sup> Cf. Ibid. 77.

<sup>868</sup> On the topic of who defines who is Anglican, see Hall, *A Thorn in the Flesh*, 181-197.

sought a definitive way to be both grounded in diverse cultures and genuinely apostolic.<sup>869</sup>

Sachs' use of 'order' and 'apostolicity' is connected here with the notion of catholicity, whilst his reference to 'community' and 'culture' is deeply linked with contextuality. The challenge, however, lies not in seeking to live within this tension, authentically and with integrity, but in making local attempts, the 'definitive' ways of being Anglican. In other words, turning local understandings of cultural contextuality and relational catholicity into prescriptive, rather than descriptive, accounts of Anglican identity.

One of Britain's most prolific Anglican ecclesiologists, Martyn Percy (Oxford University), has also wrestled with the tension between contextuality and catholicity. In *The Thirty-Nine New Articles of Religion*, he raises a number of related questions: 'When Anglican leaders meet, there is much to contemplate: how to hold together amid tense, even bitter, diversity; how to be one, yet many; how to be faithfully catholic, yet authentically local.'<sup>870</sup> For Percy, the answer to these tensions has to be rooted in 'an ethic of shared restraint – born out of a deep catholicity.'<sup>871</sup> In other words, catholicity should have the last word, over particularity.

However, in the same book, in a different article, Percy resolves the tension between these two ecclesiological dimensions by appealing to particularity over catholicity. For him, 'Anglicanism is not, and never has been, one vast, catholic continent. It has always been a kind of archipelago – a connection of provincial islands that shares doctrinal, liturgical and cultural aspects.'<sup>872</sup> The use of the geographic context of the British Isles, as a metaphor to describe the Anglican Communion is in itself interesting. In this instance, however, he proposes a very different solution to the tension between catholicity and contextuality: '[s]o instead of one single monolithic communion, what about developing a neighbourhood or family of Anglican churches?'<sup>873</sup>

In his *Anglicanism, Confidence, Commitment and Communion*, Percy turns to this question again. In chapter 10, 'Context and Catholicity: An Anglican American

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<sup>869</sup> Sachs, *Transformation*, 4

<sup>870</sup> Percy, *39 New Articles*, 31.

<sup>871</sup> Ibid.

<sup>872</sup> Ibid. 95.

<sup>873</sup> Ibid.

Dilemma?', he offers a critique of the US American cultural emphasis on consumerism and individualism, the right to choose, democracy, and the preeminence of the local over the global. Percy acknowledges the complexity of finding the right balance between the latter binary, and warns that:

[T]he future of Anglican polity [...] might rest, ironically, on accepting that some positions – amongst traditionalists, progressives, conservatives and liberals – whilst being faithful expressions of a localised contextual theology, are nonetheless not easily able to fully commune within a body that is seeking to rediscover its catholicity.<sup>874</sup>

His appeal, in this instance, is 'to figure out the constraints and opportunities afforded by balancing local contexts with catholicity' as well as 'to discern the potential for a higher vision of cultural transformation.'<sup>875</sup> This twofold reflective exercise, according to Percy, needs to be done within the framework of a theology of provisionality that is, by nature, untidy, unfinished and works-in-progress.<sup>876</sup> In his conclusion, however, Percy sharpens his initial argument and offers TEC one of two choices:

[O]n the one hand, to go with a catholicity that will be experienced by many as constraining. Or, on the other hand, to capitulate to the endemic context of consumerism, which is sometimes at the expense of a broader catholicity. Or put another way, the local against the global.<sup>877</sup>

Percy is making a strong theological point here. One that seeks to counterbalance the USA Episcopal Church's putative emphasis on contextuality over catholicity. He is doing so in the context of the recent crisis and the various emphases placed by different provinces. The choice he offers is a logical result of the dilemma he presents at the beginning of his essay. Yet, both the initial 'dilemma', and the subsequent 'choice' seem

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<sup>874</sup> Percy, *Anglicanism*, 162-163.

<sup>875</sup> Ibid. 166.

<sup>876</sup> Cf. Ibid. 167.

<sup>877</sup> Ibid. 168.

to be based on a problematic and incongruous dichotomy.<sup>878</sup> It assumes the superiority of one dimension, the global, over the other, the local, and the need to choose between the two. I would argue here that in this case, as on other occasions, the best Anglican tradition and practice is not to choose ‘either-or’, but to find ways of embracing ‘both-and’. The challenge and the opportunity is how to hold together both dimensions in creative tension, encouraging local churches to be culturally contextual, yet truly catholic in its deepest relational sense, and enabling the global Anglican family to celebrate its catholicity by affirming the diversity of local contexts. Percy himself, in a different article, affirms this idea when he writes that: ‘[i]n an increasingly diverse and cosmopolitan world, of which the Anglican Communion is part, I suspect that we are going to have to get better at moving together, whilst also at the same time respecting each other’s particularities.’<sup>879</sup>

In this line too, Jaci Maraschin, who in his writings favours an emphasis on contextuality over catholicity, acknowledges, nevertheless, that both need to be in conversation. He poses some significant questions that affect directly the above described tensions within contemporary Anglicanism:

How can contextualization still mean anything in this global culture? Could it be a kind of counter-culture? Is it possible to be a citizen of our time retreating to some kind of desert? Do such deserts still exist? How could we try to make a dialogue between contextualization and globalization?<sup>880</sup>

This chapter seeks to address some of the above questions, as well as to explore ways in which Anglicans may embrace both the local and the global with integrity, whilst remaining committed to staying together. It draws on the findings of previous chapters, and lays the foundation for the proposal in chapter 9, of rethinking Anglican identity from the perspective of *mestizaje* ecclesiology.

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<sup>878</sup> Cf. Christopher Lewis, ‘On unimportance’, in Linzey and Kirker, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 149-58. Here, referring to the ecclesiology postulated by the Windsor Report, he affirms that: ‘To present the alternatives in such situations as the glory of greater unity on the one hand, and the sad slide towards disintegration on the other, is logically and ecclesiologically false. The Communion could rediscover its roots as a consultative family of churches.’ 154.

<sup>879</sup> Matyn Percy, ‘On being stretched’, in Linzey and Kirker, *Gays and Anglicanism*, 226.

<sup>880</sup> Maraschin, ‘Culture, Spirit and Worship’, 49-50.

## 8.2. Cultural contextuality

In a worldwide family of self-governed national churches, the local context – be it national, diocesan or parochial – has a tremendous impact on shaping the local church. As pointed out by Brueggemann, ‘the community of faith [...] never lives in a vacuum. It is always in the midst of cultural reality that is thick and dense and powerful.’<sup>881</sup> All the evidence from the previous chapter, based on the national responses to the Covenant drafts, points in that direction. The Church in Wales expressed this eloquently in its response to the Ridley draft, when they affirmed that:

For many, the disputes which face the Anglican Communion – same-sex relations, lay presidency at the Eucharist, the ordination of women to the priesthood or the Episcopate – are not matters of human culture but of divine authority in the ordering of the Church. Nevertheless, the Church is unavoidably culturally situated and the Gospel culturally mediated.<sup>882</sup>

Cultural mediation, however, can be influenced by particular theological frameworks or traditions – catholic, evangelical or liberal – as they respond to their local context. Their responses may range from counter-cultural to inculturated, depending on the issue at stake. Sachs identifies a historic tension in Anglicanism between holiness and comprehensiveness.<sup>883</sup> These emphases mirror counter-cultural and incultural responses respectively. Holiness is associated with those who wish to set themselves apart from the world, and believe that compromise with what is perceived as ‘secular culture’ leads to unauthentic Christianity. Comprehensiveness is advocated by those who, based on the doctrine of the Incarnation, believe the church fulfils its true calling only when it is able to embrace the whole of humanity – including its cultures. Mark Harris advocates this type of incarnational theology, yet turns it on its head by stressing its liberation rather

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<sup>881</sup> Walter Brueggemann, ‘Always in the shadow of the empire’, in Michael L. Budde and Robert W. Brimlow (eds.), *The Church as Counterculture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000), 39.

<sup>882</sup> Wales 3.4.

<sup>883</sup> Cf. William L. Sachs, *Homosexuality and the Crisis of Anglicanism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 4.

than its inculturation aspects. He identifies several liberation modes in the process: ‘freed from uniqueness’, ‘freed from being white’, ‘freed from the male’, and ‘freed from the West’.<sup>884</sup>

### ***8.2.1. Cultural contextuality and the local church***

Roman Catholic ecclesialogist Avery Dulles, in his classic work, *Models of the Church*,<sup>885</sup> distinguished between six ecclesial models: church as institution (hierarchy and government);<sup>886</sup> church as ‘community’ (people of God);<sup>887</sup> church as sacrament (embodiment of the grace of God to humanity);<sup>888</sup> church as herald (missionary church);<sup>889</sup> church as servant (diaconal church);<sup>890</sup> and church as community of disciples (learning church).<sup>891</sup>

The notion of cultural contextuality, if we follow Dulles’ categories, seems to be deeply connected with the model of the church as community, more specifically, local community. It is also related to other ecclesiological dimensions: kerygmatic community, community of disciples and servant. This contrasts with the emphasis on the church as institution, around which much of the inter-Anglican conflict and debate seems to revolve.

Roman Catholic theologian Robert Shreiter, following the Vatican II definition of local church as *ecclesia particularis*, highlighted the importance of authentic ‘local theologies’ that emerge from the local church.<sup>892</sup> In the Foreword to Shreiter’s book, renown ecclesialogist Eduard Schillebeeckx affirmed:

Previously, one almost took for granted that the theology of the Western churches was supraregional and was, precisely in its Western form, universal and therefore directly accessible for persons from other cultures. But especially with the

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<sup>884</sup> Cf. Harris, *The challenge of change*, 124-140.

<sup>885</sup> Cf. Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (New York: Doubleday, 2002).

<sup>886</sup> Ibid. 26-38.

<sup>887</sup> Ibid. 39-54.

<sup>888</sup> Ibid. 55-67.

<sup>889</sup> Ibid. 68-80.

<sup>890</sup> Ibid. 81-94.

<sup>891</sup> Ibid. 195-218.

<sup>892</sup> Cf. Robert J. Shreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis. 1985).

emergence of liberation theology, as in Latin America for example, Western theologians came to the realization that their own theology has just as much sociological bias as any other. That theology, too, is a ‘local’ theology that, although in this (particular Western) social and contextual context, nonetheless wants to bring *the Gospel* to expression. How can the selfsame Gospel, which is given only in a societal and cultural context (even in the New Testament, for that matter) and can never be wholly extricated from any culture, be allowed to speak the language of an entirely different culture? This is the chief concern of this book.<sup>893</sup>

Shreiter believes that engaging with and understanding the cultural context of theology is key. For him, if we fail to analyze the context as part of the theological process, theology becomes ‘either irrelevant or a subtle tool of ideological manipulation.’<sup>894</sup> He describes three approaches to constructing local theology which have been since taken on by other theologians:<sup>895</sup>

1. *Translation models*: they are based on a ‘kernel and husk’ understanding of the Christian faith. It considers that you can separate the core of the message (gospel) from its original cultural husk, and then translate it to the local situation or context. It assumes an essential type of Christianity that is context-free and universally translatable. For Shreiter this is problematic because it disembodies revelation and does not take the receiving culture seriously.<sup>896</sup>

2. *Adaptation models*: they try to understand the local culture and to adapt the message to the culture, but the approach remains a one-way cultural imposition.<sup>897</sup>

A good example of this model in Anglicanism is summarized by the reference, in

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<sup>893</sup> Ibid. ix.

<sup>894</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>895</sup> Cf. Michael Connors, *Inculturated Pastoral Planning: The U.S. Hispanic Experience* (Rome: EPUG, 2001), 16-20; Ineke De Feijter, *The Art of Dialogue: Religion, Communication and Global Media Culture* (Berlin: Lit Verlag 2007), 282; Angie Pears, *Doing Contextual Theology* (Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge, 2010), 10-19.

<sup>896</sup> Shreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 6-9.

<sup>897</sup> Ibid. 9-12.



the Covenant, to ‘the historic episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples.’<sup>898</sup>

3. *Contextual models*: they take seriously the local context. There are two types: ethnographic, which defines and defends cultural identity, but can also idealize it; and liberation models, which identifies oppression of particular groups and seeks to revert oppressive structures. This relies on Marxist philosophy. Most contextual models today are liberation theology.<sup>899</sup>

Schreiter admits that we ‘now know that what had often been called the Christianization of a people was in fact their westernization, depriving them of their own past.’<sup>900</sup> There are many examples of this in the expansion of the Anglican Communion, when the paradigms followed by missionary societies and bishops, were mostly translation and adaptation models. This happened despite the fact that Anglicanism itself emerged out of a contextual model during the 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation.

Calvani, in this line, and in reference to the Elizabethan Settlement, concedes that, ‘at its roots, Anglicanism was already strongly disposed to considering cultural factors.’<sup>901</sup> Ian Douglas too affirms that this type of cultural contextuality is central to Anglican ecclesiology. For him, the original English Reformation gave birth to an ecclesiology that expressed ‘apostolic catholicity within vernacular moments.’<sup>902</sup> The problem, according to him, is that the British colonial project codified ‘the unique experience of Anglo-Saxon contextualization’ making it ‘normative for Anglican churches the world over.’<sup>903</sup> In other words, that when the culturally contextual model of English Anglicanism was exported to the rest of the world, it assumed that their version of Christianity was not culturally bound, denying in that process the very core of its identity. According to Douglas:

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<sup>898</sup> AC 1.1.6

<sup>899</sup> Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 12-15.

<sup>900</sup> Ibid. 76.

<sup>901</sup> Calvani, ‘From Modernity to Postmodernity’, 105.

<sup>902</sup> Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 39-40.

<sup>903</sup> Ibid. 40.

Today the growing plurality and multicultural reality of the Anglican Communion forces Anglicans to see that our common identity lies not in a shared English culture but in the experience of locality in universality, described as the embrace and celebration of apostolic catholicity within vernacular moments.<sup>904</sup>

Douglas, in this line, offers the example of the Maori in New Zealand, where their liturgy, theology and polity have been deeply influenced by their language and culture. ‘Becoming more Maori does not mean becoming *less* Anglican, it means becoming *more* Anglican.’<sup>905</sup> John Kater agrees with Douglas and Shreiter. He observes that:

Os cristãos não experimentam a Igreja abstractamente mas sim através de manifestações “particulaires”, definidas pelo que os reformadores chamavam “nações” que nós denominaríamos “povos” ou “culturas”. Uma igreja particular deve ser parte integrante da identidade popular de uma região.<sup>906</sup>

He quotes the 1930 Lambeth Conference definition of national or particular churches as those which ‘promote within each of their territories a national and authentic expression of the Christian faith.’<sup>907</sup> This statement, set in the context of a wider affirmation on the ‘nature and status’ of the Anglican Communion, is a mixture of Anglican experience and ecclesiological aspiration.

American feminist theologian Libby Gibson, reflecting on the experience of oppression of sexual minorities in the church, develops a contextual local theology of emancipation. For her, the experience of oppression becomes the starting point of a process of liberation and freedom. This has a rich history in biblical narratives. She argues that institutional Anglicanism denied the possibility for many local churches to become culturally contextual communities.<sup>908</sup> According to Gibson:

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<sup>904</sup> Ibid.

<sup>905</sup> Ibid. 41.

<sup>906</sup> John L. Kater, ‘Anglicanismo(s): As raízes da identidade anglicana’, *Revista Inclusividade* 15 (2008), 9. Tr.: ‘Christians do not experience the church in an abstract way, but through ‘particular’ expressions, which are defined by what the reformers called ‘nations’ and we call ‘peoples’ or ‘cultures’. A particular church has to be an integral part of the popular identity of a region.’

<sup>907</sup> LC 1930. Resolution 49.

<sup>908</sup> Libby Gibson, ‘Ethics from the Other Side: Postcolonial, Lay and Feminist Contributions to Anglican Ethics’, *ATR* 94.4 (2012), 642.

In the colonial expansion of the values of the Church of England, we see the propagation of the institutional church at the cost of the church as the people of God. Postcolonial scholars attempt to make room for the unique expressions of the church in local and vernacular contexts, which will require the institutional church to cultivate ears to hear that do not include an evaluation over and against the ‘mother’ church.<sup>909</sup>

Gibson’s analysis itself comes out of a Western, postmodern, feminist, LGBT-inclusive, liberation theology, cultural context. Her appeal to a local Anglican ecclesiology, where the vernacular contexts are affirmed, needs to be interpreted in this light. Kaye makes a significant observation concerning the latter point. When discussing the ordination of women to the priesthood in the Anglican Communion, he admitted that, in addition to theological arguments:

There are other forces at work in this debate. The cultural context in which different Anglicans encounter this question affects the way in which they are predisposed to think about it. In the USA, for example, the rights of women to equal treatment and opportunity grew in public opinion and practice in the second half of the twentieth century. That feminist move corresponded in time with the civil rights movement. The Episcopal Church had taken an emphatic role in supporting civil rights, including the rights for women.<sup>910</sup>

Kaye offers this as an example of cultural contextuality that followed a particular pattern of ‘enculturation.’<sup>911</sup> However, although some may critique this stance of the Episcopal Church as compromising with culture, in its original context of the 1960s civil rights movement, it was a profoundly counter-cultural position. In fact, I would argue that even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in the West, not to mention other parts of the world, it continues to be counter-cultural for the church to stand for gender equality.

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<sup>909</sup> Ibid.

<sup>910</sup> Kaye, *Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 173.

<sup>911</sup> Ibid. 176.

Michael Doe, writing as head of the USPG (now Us.), recognized the significance of cultural contextuality in the relationship between his missionary society and their local partner churches. He used the following example as an illustration:

We [the USPG] have no policy on the ministry of women or on same-sex partnerships. This is [...] because we believe that these are matters for each partner church to decide, as they respond, in mission under God, to the needs of their situation.<sup>912</sup>

This defence of cultural contextuality, as an affirmation of a local ecclesiology, is central to historic Anglicanism. It is also associated with the notion of provisionality, discussed in previous chapters. As Clarke points out, ‘cultural identity is not just about being, but becoming.’<sup>913</sup> It is a dynamic phenomenon that involves change. Paul Avis admits that ‘Anglican identity is developing and diversifying.’<sup>914</sup> From Hooker to Maurice and beyond to the present day, the ability to respond to changing cultural paradigms has been at the heart of the Anglican DNA.

Cultural transition points in history have always been a testing ground for the durability, adaptability and flexibility of religious groups. The responses of each group have always drawn from one or more sources. Irrationally reacting against or unquestioningly embracing fully a new cultural paradigm have been unhelpful responses to change. Theologians like Hooker and Maurice did not simply devise a hermeneutical method or an ecclesiological synthesis in a cultural vacuum. They were responding to a changing cultural landscape, from within emerging cultural paradigms, offering a new narrative. Their ecclesiological thought was critical of the most divisive effects of their contemporary cultures. Both critiqued the exclusive nature of single ecclesiological systems or schools and the arrogance of its defenders. They also advocated a path that could hold together what may at first glance appear as irreconcilable positions. It is the tensions between these two types of responses, inculturated and counter-cultural, that I will now turn to.

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<sup>912</sup> Doe, ‘From colonialism’, 216.

<sup>913</sup> Simon Clarke, ‘Culture and Identity’, in Tony Bennett and John Frow (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 510-29 (527).

<sup>914</sup> Avis, *Anglicanism*, 19.

### **8.2.2. Contextuality: ‘for’ or ‘against’ culture?**

In a lecture delivered at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, in 2001, Frederick Borsch, former bishop of Los Angeles, celebrated cultural diversity within the Anglican Communion as a dimension of communion itself. Borsch engaged with the tensions between globalization and individual cultures, with the parallel reference to the tensions between catholicity and cultural contextuality in worldwide Anglicanism. Speaking to a South African audience, he admitted that, ‘[t]here are cultural, theological, and economic differences that make it difficult, certainly even in our churches, to be fully “the rainbow people of God.”’<sup>915</sup> And he went on to raise a number of questions connected both with the challenges of inculturation and with the radical call to be counter-cultural:

How does one best share the Christian faith in such circumstances? In what measures and ways should the teaching and practices of the faith be adapted for and indigenized in the different cultures? What are also the dangers? In what ways may the values and virtues of Christian faith be overwhelmed by cultural ideas and practices such as materialism, nationalism, slavery, racism, classism, and sexism against which Christianity should set itself?<sup>916</sup>

His response to these questions was unequivocal. The way to affirm cultural contextuality is not by an uncritical response to the dominant culture, but the result of a ‘fully engaged’, in-depth conversation with one’s cultural context.<sup>917</sup> It is the result of a reflective process that includes both a critical inculturation and a measured counter-cultural response.

Traditionally, conservative Anglicans particularly in the West have advocated a counter-cultural approach to social and ethical issues, whereas central and liberal Anglicans have felt more comfortable with the language of inculturation. On the whole, however, Anglicanism has had a genuine commitment to inculturation, both from its

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<sup>915</sup> Frederick H. Borsch, ‘Cultures and Communion: Diversity and Communionality in the Church and the World’, *ATR* 84.2 (2002), 290.

<sup>916</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>917</sup> *Ibid.* 301.

origins and in the development of the Anglican Communion. Reflecting on the expansion of global Anglicanism from the eighteenth century onwards, Kaye observes that:

The particular patterns resulting from those earlier enculturations gave different nuances to Anglican understandings and expressions of church. It should not be surprising that the decolonization of the second half of the twentieth century should take time to work itself out. The present crisis acutely demonstrates the fragmenting capacity of a theological commitment to enculturation.<sup>918</sup>

In the recent debate over human sexuality, inculturation has been affirmed by African and North American voices alike. Some Anglican African leaders, for example, have employed a counter-cultural rhetoric, in which they have critiqued Western Anglicans for compromising with their culture. Paradoxically, in the same breath, they have offered a response to homosexuality which, far from being counter-cultural, is deeply inculturated in their own context. A good example of this is the response of the Nigerian Anglican Primate to the recent government anti-gay legislation. The following press release, by the Church of Nigeria, on February 18 2014, illustrates this point:

The Federal Government of Nigeria has been commended for its developmental projects in improving the lives of Nigerians and in particular the assenting of the anti-gay law by Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, the Nigerian President. The Primate of all Nigeria Anglican Communion, the Most Rev. Nicholas D. Okoh gave this commendation in his formal opening address to the Standing Committee meeting of the Anglican Communion at the Cathedral Church of St. James' the Great Okebola Ibadan, the Oyo state capital.<sup>919</sup>

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<sup>918</sup> Kaye, *Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 195. The term 'enculturation', although strictly speaking describes an anthropological concept referring to one's understanding of and immersion in one's own culture, is here used as a synonym of the missiological notion of 'inculturation', as the process of rooting the gospel in a particular culture. cf. J. M. Herskovits, *Man and his Works, the Science of Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Knopf, 1948), 39-48; and U.E. Umoren, 'Inculturation and the Future of the Church in Africa', in J.S. Ukpong, et al (eds.) *Evangelisation in Africa in the Third Millennium Challenges and Prospects* (Port Harcourt: CIWA, 1992), 63-65.

<sup>919</sup> <http://www.anglican-nig.org/primates%20opening.php> Accessed 10 February 2015.

In Nigeria, a country with a significant Muslim population, where Christianity reflects the cultural conservatism of the wider society, the Anglican response can only be described as inculturated. The antithesis to the previous statement comes from the former bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Southeast Florida, Leo Frade. In a pastoral letter to his diocese, dated 6 January 2015, following the legalization of same-sex marriage in Florida, Frade wrote:

I rejoice that today, January 6, on the Feast of the Epiphany, the State of Florida will take a bold and compassionate stand in permitting the legal marriage of same sex couples. For far too long we have suffered alongside our sisters and brothers who have felt God's call to receive the full blessings of the church through the Sacrament of Holy Matrimony. At long last their desires and our hopes have been realized.<sup>920</sup>

The American Episcopal bishop went on to encourage his parish clergy and people 'to embrace those who might come to our doors seeking to be married.'<sup>921</sup> Although at a first glance this particular response may appear a form of inculturation, in the USA as a whole, the polarization of public opinion on most controversial ethical matters, makes the church's response more complex. Marriage equality finally became federal law in the USA in June 2015. Nevertheless, in many states there continues to be deeply ingrained homophobic attitudes. The Episcopal Church's affirming response to LGBT rights, will be perceived as either counter-cultural or inculturated, depending on which state it speaks from, and to which demographic of society it appeals to. These are just two examples of how complex, and at times paradoxical, assessing the full engagement with the local cultural context can be.

Another example of the tension between inculturated and counter-cultural approaches comes from Simon Chiwanga, former Anglican bishop of Mpwapa, Tanzania. In his article, 'Beyond the Monarch/Chief',<sup>922</sup> Chiwanga reflects on African

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<sup>920</sup> <https://diosef.wordpress.com/2015/01/06/praise-for-same-sex-marriage-in-florida/> Accessed 5 August 2015.

<sup>921</sup> Ibid.

<sup>922</sup> Simon E. Chiwanga, 'Beyond the Monarch/Chief: Reconsidering the Episcopacy in Africa', in Douglas and Pui-lan, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 297-311.

models of leadership and how to move beyond both the prelacy episcopal model imported during colonial times, and the tribal-chief episcopal model developed in postcolonial Africa. He proposes an alternative model of episcopal leadership, based on the notion of *mhudumu*, the Swahili word for ‘minister’ or ‘servant’. In his view,

The *mhudumo* concept conjures up most powerfully the image of a leader who renders service in a team, in collaboration with fellow servers who believe that gifts are given to everyone; a *mhudumu* is a leader whose heart is for service and not status; a leader who honours the personal dignity and worth of all who work with him or her; a leader who evokes as much as possible fellow members’ innate creative power for leadership; a leader who is empowering.<sup>923</sup>

Chinwanga’s advocacy for a servant leadership episcopacy in his Tanzanian context is the result of a critique of the inherited models. At one level, his proposal is deeply counter-cultural, challenging the top-down, non-collaborative types of episcopacy prevalent in Africa.<sup>924</sup> At another level, he seeks to offer a model that is profoundly rooted in the local culture and in the biblical notion of servant ministry incarnated by Jesus of Nazareth.<sup>925</sup>

Sankey too, advocates the need for an inculturated ecclesiology in Africa that revisits and reassesses the notion of ‘clan’. In his article, ‘The church as clan: critical reflections on African ecclesiology’, he proposes rooting this new understanding not on the past but on the present context. According to him,

The debate over the slippery words ‘indigenization’ and ‘contextualization’ has highlighted the need for a gospel conceived not in terms of traditional culture but in terms of contemporary context. A people’s culture is their response to its environment. Today, that environment is changing rapidly and bringing with it new issues and a changing way of life. A genuine encounter between God’s Word

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<sup>923</sup> Ibid. 303.

<sup>924</sup> This is translated, in practical terms, into a non-synodical episcopal ministry, a critique presented also by Kaoma, *Globalizing the Culture Wars*, 34-35.

<sup>925</sup> Chinwanga, ‘Beyond the Monarch/Chief’, 303.



and God's world involves an encounter inter alia with political oppression, the new challenges of democracy, social fragmentation and secularization.<sup>926</sup>

This type of inculturation, therefore, draws not from inherited cultural values, but from an engagement with the changing social context. Njongonkulu Ndungane, archbishop of Cape Town, whilst recognising the need to engage with the contemporary contexts, he believes that it is important to hold this in tension with traditional culture. In attempting to answer the question 'who does inculturation in Africa', Ndungane lists three important areas where true inclusivity needs to be sought. According to him:

- All the voices of Africa – including missionaries, local people, women and men – are needed in order to develop a truly African Christianity.
- Both the traditional and contemporary symbols and interpretations are needed.
- There is no single definitive version of contextualized Christianity. There will be as many variations as there are influences and voices.<sup>927</sup>

Of the above three points, the third one is particularly significant in the debate over diversity and cultural contextuality. Its two statements go hand in hand. If inculturation is taken seriously, there cannot be any claims to uniformity, and there has to be a recognition of the multiplicity of local cultures. In certain African contexts, where particular forms of Anglican confessionalism are advocated, this statement presents deep counter-cultural challenges.

In other parts of the Communion, the issues identified by other groups are somewhat different, yet equally relevant and culturally contextual. For instance, the Indigenous Anglican Network, which includes churches from North America and Oceania, has produced some interesting theological reflections on environmental issues. The Canadian indigenous bishop, Mark MacDonald, in an article titled 'Aboriginal Christianity/Ecological Christianity', challenges Western cosmology and its modern views of creation, and constructs a Christian theology of creation based on indigenous

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<sup>926</sup> Paul J. Sankey, 'The church as clan: Critical reflections on African ecclesiology', *International Review of Mission* 83.330 (1994), 444.

<sup>927</sup> Njongonkulu Ndungane, 'Scripture: what is at issue in Anglicanism today?', in Douglas, *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism*, 242.

cosmological insights.<sup>928</sup> In this article, originally published in the September 2007 newsletter for the Forum on Religion and Ecology, he also addresses other related issues such as the relationship with the land and a retelling of their own story. According to MacDonald, indigenous Anglicans have, in this process, ‘discovered an unexpected pre-Western artery of Theo-ecological understanding in the primal elements of Christian faith.’<sup>929</sup>

Also within the context of indigenous Anglicanism, there have been some modest steps in the path toward self-government and self-determination. In the cases of Canada and New Zealand these steps have yielded significant fruit. In Canada, for example, the goal of self-determination, or the exercise of ecclesial self-government and autonomy by the First Nation Anglicans was affirmed in a series of statements as part of the ‘New Agape’ process. Self-determination was defined not as an act of rebellion but as an act of liberation. Not as an expression of independence but as a means to a deeper and fairer interdependence with the white Anglicans.<sup>930</sup> In 2005, the Anglican Council of Indigenous Peoples, the main body representing First Nation Anglicans in Canada, was asked to nominate to the Primate a candidate to become their first indigenous bishop. As part of this process, Mark MacDonald was consecrated in 2007 to serve as a national bishop, with ‘episcopal and pastoral responsibilities as well as full authority and jurisdiction for aboriginal communities across the country.’<sup>931</sup>

In New Zealand, as pointed out in the previous chapter, since 1992, Maori Anglicans have enjoyed autonomy in the context of their three *tikanga*, or cultural streams, national church. According to the 1992 Constitution, all three partners can ‘order their affairs within their own cultural context.’<sup>932</sup> The Maori Tikanga, known as *Te Pihopatanga Aotearoa*, is divided into five *hui amorangi*, or episcopal areas, covering the whole country. The relationship within the wider national church is one of equal partnership, to the point that at the General Synod all three *tikanga* need to be in agreement for decisions to be made. However, at a practical level, Maori Anglicans continue to contend for a solidarity-based model in the allocation of resources, as well as

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<sup>928</sup> Cf. [http://www.anglican.ca/im/articles/2007-09-06\\_mm/](http://www.anglican.ca/im/articles/2007-09-06_mm/) Accessed 4 August 2015.

<sup>929</sup> Ibid.

<sup>930</sup> Cf. [www.anglican.ca/newagape](http://www.anglican.ca/newagape) Accessed 4 August 2015.

<sup>931</sup> The Anglican Council of Indigenous People, ‘National Indigenous Bishop: a step to a new era’. The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, February 2006, 8.

<sup>932</sup> <http://www.anglican.org.nz/> Accessed 4 August 2015.

for economic justice and restitution. Their issues are not dissimilar to the ones experienced by the wider Maori population with the civil authorities in the country. In this context, as with Canada, indigenous Anglicans will require further engagement on issues of inculturation and cultural contextuality, particularly in areas of models of episcopal leadership, articulations of the gospel and ecclesiology.

### **8.2.3. *Cultural contextuality and the lex orandi***

As pointed out above, cultural contextuality in contemporary Anglicanism is the result of a negotiation between inculturation and counter-cultural responses to specific issues. In the Anglican tradition, nowhere is this clearer than in the development of local liturgies. Despite the breadth of liturgical diversity in the Communion, Anglicans have not managed to truly inculturate their most cherished principle, that of the *lex orandi*. Instead, most liturgical expressions across the provinces continue to reflect the basic shape, structure and language of the Prayer Book, with few exceptions.

David Griffiths, in his extensive compilation of Prayer Book editions, lists nearly five thousand editions between 1549 and 1999, of which well over a thousand were translations. His research includes both the traditional Prayer Book editions, as well as the new revisions of national liturgies, many of which emerged during the 20<sup>th</sup> century liturgical renewal movement. The fact that so many of the editions, 1,200, were translations from the English, American, Canadian, Australian or New Zealander Prayer Books, into other languages, is quite significant in itself.<sup>933</sup>

According to Griffiths, most of the translations of the English language Prayer Books were commissioned either by national churches or missionary societies in order to ‘further overseas missions,’<sup>934</sup> as well as to meet the needs of linguistic minority groups in their own countries. But there were other underlying reasons. Nineteenth century missionary expansion went hand in hand with the imperialistic projects that led to the Western political and/or economic colonization of parts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the South Pacific. As others have noted, these Anglo-Saxon imperial projects were served, knowingly or unknowingly, by those Anglicans that took their expression of

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<sup>933</sup> Cf. D. N. Griffiths, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549–1999* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002).

<sup>934</sup> Ibid. 19.

Christianity to foreign lands. Translating their existing liturgies, rather than creating an indigenous one, was totally consistent with the translation and adaptation missiological models followed in establishing native churches. It was also consistent with the wider ideology of empire, built upon a cultural superiority self-understanding. Translating or adapting, rather than truly inculturating the Prayer Book, became the norm in the Anglican Communion.<sup>935</sup>

In recent decades, as Anglicans entered the postcolonial age, whereas some aspects of church polity were reviewed by the national churches, the liturgical resources remained largely unchanged. One of the reasons for this lack of interest in contextualising the national Prayer Books may be found in the emotional and historic attachment to the original liturgies that gave birth to some of these national churches. It may also reflect how deeply ingrained liturgical forms are in the collective psyche of the worshippers and the high esteem some have for these inherited translations of English-language Prayer Books. From the point of view of the tension between contextuality and catholicity, this limited liturgical inculturation may also be seen as a way of preserving a recognizable commonality in Anglican worship across the Communion.

There are at least two interesting examples of how the *lex orandi* principle has been rearticulated, theologically and in practice, in the Communion. The first example is aspirational and comes from Brazil. There, Anglican theologians De Lima, Maraschin and Calvani have critiqued inherited liturgies and advocated a fully inculturated liturgical renewal. According to Calvani, ‘modern mentality also legislated liturgical standards. Perhaps the greatest expression of liturgical modernity is the Book of Common Prayer.’<sup>936</sup> Maraschin agrees with this assessment and appeals to liturgical renewal, reform and re-imagination, from a postmodern perspective, based on the Heideggerian notion of art and mysticism, as replacing philosophy. He advocates a less logo-centric and rational, and a more artistic, mystical and emotional liturgy. In his own categories, less ‘Apollonian’, based on post-Enlightenment, rational, written, high culture; and more ‘Dionysian’, based on popular, emotional, oral culture.<sup>937</sup>

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<sup>935</sup> According to De Lima: ‘In our Anglican churches, the signs and power of colonial symbols may be seen not only in the liturgical order. The Hebrew and Greek sources for our liturgy come to us already filtered through British culture in the Book of Common Prayer, a wonderful Western and Christian inspiration, itself an example of a contextual theological process.’ De Lima, ‘Preface’, 3.

<sup>936</sup> Calvani, ‘From Modernity to Postmodernity’, 109.

<sup>937</sup> Maraschin, ‘Culture, Spirit and Worship’, 48.

For Maraschin, the inherited liturgies were profoundly ideological.<sup>938</sup> And so, he poses the question: '[h]ow can we bring our Anglican liturgies from the bondage of ideology into the freedom of utopia?'<sup>939</sup> For him, this process of emancipation theology, liberating the existing liturgies from ideology, is the first step toward a reconstruction of the *lex orandi* in the Brazilian context. The second step, proposed to the Anglican Episcopal Church of Brazil, is an invitation to enter a nation-wide liturgical project that involves allowing communities to express their faith in new ways and so to generate culturally contextualized liturgies.<sup>940</sup> Maraschin, however, does not address any of the practical issues that may emerge from such a process. It is particularly unclear how locally generated liturgical expressions would find their place within a national church Prayer Book, or indeed any other form of liturgical resources collection. Nor is it clear how the balance between unity and diversity would be maintained, if at all.

The second example is a practical one based on the experience of the Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia. Their latest Prayer Book, from 1989, describes itself as a prayer book containing a 'multitude of voices'.<sup>941</sup> The liturgy uses, as much as possible, inclusive language. This seeks to reflect both the place of women in church leadership,<sup>942</sup> and their evolving understanding of who God is. Although predominantly in English, large sections of the Prayer Book are in Maori, with some Fijian and Tongan translations. The authors of this book offer their own definition of the *lex orandi*: 'Liturgy describes the People of God. Liturgy expresses who we believe we are in the presence of God. Liturgy reveals the God whom we worship. Liturgy reflects our mission.'<sup>943</sup>

They also address the tension between contextuality and catholicity in the liturgical creative process. According to them, there 'is freedom within heritage. Continuity is always in tension with liturgical change, but continuity there is. The intention is to extend, not break, the richness of our heritage.'<sup>944</sup> Good examples of these

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<sup>938</sup> Ibid. 55.

<sup>939</sup> Ibid. 57.

<sup>940</sup> Cf. Ibid. 62-63.

<sup>941</sup> *A New Zealand Prayer Book/He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*. The Church of the Province of New Zealand/Te Haahi o te Porowini o Niu Tireni (Auckland: Collins, 1989), x.

<sup>942</sup> In New Zealand women have been ordained priests since 1974.

<sup>943</sup> *A New Zealand Prayer Book*, xiii.

<sup>944</sup> Ibid. xiii.

additions are the ‘Benedicite Aotearoa’,<sup>945</sup> the ‘Poi Chant’,<sup>946</sup> and the ‘Song of Praise/He Waiata Whakamoemiti’,<sup>947</sup> all reflecting the natural landscape of New Zealand and elements from Maori and Pakeha cultures. The latter canticle, for instance, affirms ‘our thanks for marae and the cities we have built’,<sup>948</sup> making reference to Maori and Western contributions to societal organization. Another unique addition is the alternative ‘Liturgical Affirmation’, used instead of the Apostles or Nicene creeds, which contains both inclusive language and inclusive theology.<sup>949</sup> The key features of this creed are the gender neutral language used for God, and the implicit reference of God’s presence with humanity preceding the proclamation of the gospel. This is significant in New Zealand for the Maori recognized in the ‘Christian God’ someone they had already been worshipping before the Christian missionaries arrived in 1814.<sup>950</sup> This idea is acknowledged in the ‘Introduction’ to the Prayer Book with the affirmation that: ‘[t]he Lord’s song has been sung in this twice-discovered land since before Samuel Marsden first preached the Gospel on that Christmas Day in 1814 in Oihi Bay.’<sup>951</sup>

The above examples raise some important questions: How can Anglicans affirm the intrinsic ecclesiological value of cultural contextuality, whilst being committed to a deeply relational catholicity? In the case of the *lex orandi*, how can liturgical diversity be a catholic expression of a shared faith? From an ecclesiological perspective, how does an understanding of the local church as the family or people of God impact on the practical outworking of cultural contextuality? And, equally important, where is the prime locus of Anglican identity, in the local, the global, or both in equal measure? These and other related questions will be addressed below, as I explore the connections between relational catholicity and culture.

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<sup>945</sup> Ibid. 63-64.

<sup>946</sup> Ibid. 154-55.

<sup>947</sup> Ibid. 477.

<sup>948</sup> Ibid.

<sup>949</sup> Cf. Ibid. 481.

<sup>950</sup> Cf. Ibid. 481.

<sup>951</sup> Ibid. xiv.

### 8.3. Relational catholicity

The notion of catholicity in the Anglican tradition is a complex one, with multiple semantic layers emphasising particular ecclesiological aspects. Nevertheless, it contains some common features rooted in the Reformation understanding of the term. It is therefore no surprise that at the 1948 Lambeth Conference, the bishops affirmed that the ‘Churches of the Anglican Communion are Catholic in the sense of the English Reformation. They are Catholic but reformed; they are reformed but Catholic.’<sup>952</sup> As pointed out in the early chapters on Hooker and Maurice, the Church of England has always understood itself to be a part of the one, holy, *catholic* and apostolic Church of Christ. In the context of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation, the schism with Rome was regarded not as a break with catholicity, but as an affirmation of nationality and autonomy.<sup>953</sup> Both the Church of England and the Church of Rome were considered a part of the one Catholic Church.

In contemporary Anglican ecclesiology, catholicity is defined predominantly within three different contexts: the Church of England, the Anglican Communion and the wider ecumenical movement. The Church of England, as a national church, has always regarded itself as *the* Catholic Church *in* England. Its two provinces, Canterbury and York, predating the Reformation, act as historic links of continuity with the past, strengthening its claim to catholicity.<sup>954</sup> From the point of view of the Church of England, a reunion with Rome would not make the church more catholic, but would be a sign of healing and unity within the visibly fragmented Church of Christ.

The relationship between the Church of England and the wider Catholic Church has two dimensions: the historic one and a theological one. Historically, English Anglicanism sees a direct, unbroken, connection with the Catholic Church of the land. Mark Chapman described this type of catholicity as ‘contained’,<sup>955</sup> in other words, bound

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<sup>952</sup> LC 1948. II.83.

<sup>953</sup> This is consistent with the reformed ecclesiology of the mainstream magisterial reformers. Cf. Avery Dulles, *The Catholicity of the Church* (Oxford: OUP, 1985), 148.

<sup>954</sup> Cf. Bruce Kaye, ‘Power, Order and Plurality: Getting Together in the Anglican Communion’, *JAS* 2.1 (2004), 81–95.

<sup>955</sup> Cf. Chapman, ‘Catholicity and the future of Anglicanism’, 114.

by geographical and jurisdictional boundaries.<sup>956</sup> Catholicity may be understood here as an aspect of geographic universality. The experience of contained catholicity is likewise related to the Anglican ecclesiology of provisionality. As pointed out by Colin Podmore, the Church of England understands its catholicity not in relation ‘to a particular family of churches’ (the Anglican Communion) but by virtue of being ‘part of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.’<sup>957</sup> This, according to Podmore, highlights the provisional nature of the national church and its ‘incompleteness in itself.’<sup>958</sup>

In addition, catholicity appeals to a bigger ecclesio-theological picture. Catholicity, in this sense, surpasses time and space, and yet, at the same time, connects Christians of a particular time and location to Christians from other times and places, by virtue of being members of the mystical Body of Christ on earth. This aspect of catholicity highlights spiritual relationships with God (mystical union with God) and others (the communion of saints). It is experienced primarily in the context of worship and the sacramental life of the church. Its centre is on the eucharistic celebration, which connects both the earthly and the eternal in a single act of divine and human hospitality.

The second context, focused on the relationship between the Anglican Communion and the experience of catholicity, mirrors in some ways the Church of England’s experience. There is an implicit reference to provisionality and contained catholicity. Official documents such as the Covenant seem to define catholicity in relation to the universal Church. In section four of the Covenant, for instance, it affirms that:

The Anglican Communion is a fellowship, *within* the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, of national or regional Churches, in which each recognises in the others the bonds of a common loyalty to Christ expressed through a common

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<sup>956</sup> Anglicans may take the latter argument even further. If the fullness of catholicity is connected with being part of the undivided church then, since the Great Schism of 1054, one could argue that the expression of local catholicity by eastern and western churches is one of ‘limited’ or, to echo Chapman’s term again, ‘contained’ catholicity. Indeed, contemporary scholarship has shown enough evidence to suggest that the enormous diversity amongst pre-Council of Nicea churches, showed signs of contained catholicity.

<sup>957</sup> Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity*, 40.

<sup>958</sup> *Ibid.*



faith and order, a shared inheritance in worship, life and mission, and a readiness to live in an interdependent life.<sup>959</sup>

Whilst the first statement of catholicity here sets the fellowship of Anglican churches *within* the universal Church, the rest of the paragraph seems to focus on inter-Anglican relations. This dimension of catholicity is expressed by the mutual recognition of each other as authentic Christian churches, who share a common history, tradition and commitment to interdependence. In contemporary Anglican ecclesiology, catholicity is broadly interpreted in this narrow sense, largely as a synonym of ecclesial relations within the Communion.<sup>960</sup> It appeals to the global experience of being Anglican, and to the relationships between the various provincial churches. In much of the reflections of this chapter, given the current context, this narrow definition of catholicity has been followed.

There is a third context in which Anglicans have shown a clear commitment to catholicity, that of ecumenical dialogue. This, as pointed out in chapter 6, has been central to the vocation of Anglicanism since the first Lambeth Conference. In recent times, great progress has been made between Anglicans and other reformed churches, particularly with the Lutheran family. However, with others, like the Roman Catholic Church, despite the numerous ecumenical statements produced since the 1960s, there is still a long way to go. The differences in the understanding of catholicity by Anglicans and Roman Catholics, for example, became clear in the ARCIC statements on authority in the church.<sup>961</sup> Amongst the most significant differences, in ‘Authority in the Church I’, was the affirmation that communion with the bishop of Rome ‘is intended as a safeguard of the catholicity of all the churches.’<sup>962</sup> This point was developed in ‘The Gift of Authority’, posing a problematic challenge to the traditional Anglican understanding of catholicity, through its overt invitation to receive the primatial leadership of the Pope.

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<sup>959</sup> TAC 4.1.1. Author’s italics.

<sup>960</sup> Cf. Martyn Percy, Mark Chapman and Bruce Kaye in bibliography. Mark Harris is an exception in that his focus is on a *koinonia* that transcends the Anglican Communion to experience wider catholicity.

<sup>961</sup> Cf. ‘Authority in the Church I’ (1976), ‘Authority in the Church II’ (1981), and ‘The Gift of Authority: Authority in the Church III’ (1998). Documents available in: <https://iarccum.org/agreed-statements/> Accessed 5 August 2015.

<sup>962</sup> ‘Authority in the Church I’, para. 12.

To summarize, the Anglican experience of catholicity takes place, fundamentally, in the context of the Communion. Despite the recent crisis and internal tensions, such experience has remained dynamic, real and essentially relational. Against this backdrop catholicity, therefore, is not primarily structural, institutional or even confessional, but based on the relationships between ordinary Anglicans, lay and ordained, as they encounter one another individually or corporately, socially, in mission or in worship. This form of ‘relational catholicity’ is pivotal in contemporary Anglican identity.

### ***8.3.1. Relational catholicity and communion***

Communion ecclesiology, as pointed out in chapter 6, is at the core of contemporary Anglican identity. The notion of *koinonia* as a defining element of catholicity was affirmed by many provinces in their responses to the Covenant drafts. The relational aspect of communion is likewise intrinsically connected to the notion of relational catholicity advocated in this chapter. On the whole, the most prolific reflections on communion ecclesiology were produced by Roman Catholic theologians in the run up to, and aftermath of, the Second Vatican Council. Dennis Doyle summarized this ecclesiological dimension thus:

To say that the Church is a ‘communion’ is to emphasise that, although certain of its institutional structures remain essential, it finds its ultimate basis in relationships among human beings with God through Christ and in the Holy Spirit.<sup>963</sup>

This relational dimension of communion, amongst human beings, and between humans and the Triune God, represents the highest vision of relational catholicity. The French Dominican theologian Yves Congar, in his liturgical essays, offered a similar analysis, when critiquing the development of Roman Catholic ecclesiology in recent centuries. According to him:

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<sup>963</sup> Dennis M. Doyle, ‘Henri de Lubac and the roots of communion ecclesiology’, *Theological Studies* 60.2 (1999), 211.

From a contemporary perspective, the history of ideas in ecclesiology shows us that we have passed from an ecclesiology of the ecclesia to an ecclesiology about powers, from an ecclesiology of communion and sanctity to an ecclesiology of institutions.<sup>964</sup>

In his view, the church needed to rescue the notion of communion in order to reach what he described as a ‘total ecclesiology’, one that was based on relationships, rather than structures, and that had a profoundly universal appeal. For Congar, the notions of church and catholicity become interchangeable in his depiction of communion ecclesiology. He affirmed:

This is the Church, this is catholicity. The Church is not a special little group, isolated, apart, remaining untouched amidst the changes of the world. The Church is the world as believing in Christ, or what comes to be the same thing, it is Christ dwelling in and saving the world by our faith. The Church is religious humanity; it is the universe as transfigured by grace into the image of God.<sup>965</sup>

This type of ‘total ecclesiology’, in Congar’s theology, is connected also with what he describes as horizontal, rather than vertical, catholicity.<sup>966</sup> In other words, one that focuses, not on the hierarchical structures of the church, but on the church as the people of God. This seems to be a quintessentially Anglican expression of catholicity. One that places its emphasis on the horizontal experience of community relationships, corporate worship, pastoral care and spiritual formation, to name a few examples. It is likewise visible in the Anglican horizontal approach to authority and church governance, both synodically and collegiately. Here, although involving institutional structures, the horizontal nature of the decision making processes puts human relationships at the centre.

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<sup>964</sup> Yves Congar, *At the heart of Christian worship: Liturgical Essays of Yves Congar* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2000), 40.

<sup>965</sup> Yves Congar, ‘The Reasons for the Unbelief of our Time’, *Integration* 2.1 (1938), 21. Originally published as ‘Une conclusion théologique à l’Enquête sur les raisons actuelles de l’incroyance,’ *Vie intellectuelle* 37.2 (1935). 214-49. Here Congar echoes F.D. Maurice’s depiction of the Church and the World in: *Theological Essays*, 305, and *TOCK*, 240.

<sup>966</sup> Cf. Yves Congar, *My Journal of the Council* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2012), 16.

Alongside the above emphasis on catholicity as ‘total ecclesiology’, post-Vatican II Roman Catholic ecclesiology, rearticulated catholicity by putting the emphasis on a bottom-up description of the universal Church. According to J.M. Tillard, in the Roman Catholic Church there has been:

[A] movement from an ecclesiology starting with the idea of the universal Church divided into portions called dioceses, to an ecclesiology which understands the Church as the communion of all local churches. The universal Church arises from the communion of churches.<sup>967</sup>

What in Roman Catholicism was rediscovered during the middle of the twentieth century, namely, a communion ecclesiology that began with the local to get to the universal, has been present in the Anglican tradition from its inception, albeit in a more practical, less theologically articulated manner. Bruce Kaye affirms this bottom-up relational catholicity thus:

In the Anglican tradition catholicity has generally addressed the relation of the church to the apostolic origins of the faith on the one hand, and to the wider extent of the church as the extended community of believers on the other. In other words, catholicity is about relations out from the local.<sup>968</sup>

In the context of the Anglican Communion, relational catholicity is nothing new. From the outset, the very birth of the Communion was the result of individual bishops seeking to be in closer relationship with each other. Although structures emerged from this process, relationships have always been above the structures. The first Lambeth Conference, which set the tone for future gatherings, defined its role in 1867 as one of seeking ‘brotherly consultation’<sup>969</sup> and hoped ‘that this our meeting may hereafter be followed by other meetings to be conducted in the same spirit of brotherly love.’<sup>970</sup>

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<sup>967</sup> Jean-Marie Tillard, *The Bishop of Rome* (London: SPCK, 1983), 37.

<sup>968</sup> Kaye, *Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 194.

<sup>969</sup> Davidson, *Lambeth Conferences*, 12.

<sup>970</sup> LC 1867. Resolution 13.

In 1930, the bishops gathered at Lambeth affirmed, yet again, that the Anglican experience of catholicity was not institutional or structural, but relational. Anglicans, according to the Conference, ‘are bound together not by a central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the bishops in conference.’<sup>971</sup> And in 1963, in the context of the Anglican Congress, Stephen Bayne affirmed that what ‘actually defines Anglicans is that we meet as Anglicans. We form relationships across all sorts of divides.’<sup>972</sup>

This notion of relational catholicity has been both a strength and a weakness in the Anglican model. Its strength lies in the real bonds of affections that join Anglicans together from around the world. It highlights the human dimension of this family of churches. Its weakness lies in the fragility of some of these bonds, and the role that particular characters may play in certain instances. This has been particularly visible in the recent crisis, where a few charismatic leaders with a vocation of global influence, fostered relationships with likeminded bishops around the world to pursue a particular agenda. In the case of GAFCON leaders, from an anecdotal perspective, one observes that once its initiators abandoned the spot light, and the funding began to decrease, the movement lost some its momentum and media attention.<sup>973</sup>

Within the Communion, although catholicity, in its global dimension, is expressed through the various instruments of communion, at institutional levels, on a day to day basis this is the result of relationships: between Anglicans as they travel, meet and worship with other Anglicans abroad; between leaders as they engage in partner diocesan programmes; between specific groups (missionary, educational, etc) as they relate to each other. Networks based on human relationships are the clearest expression of this type of relational catholicity.<sup>974</sup>

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<sup>971</sup> LC 1930. Resolution 49.

<sup>972</sup> Phil Groves and Angharad Parry Jones, *Living Reconciliation* (London: SPCK, 2014), xviii.

<sup>973</sup> GAFCON’s media interest decreased especially after the retirement of its three founding bishops and primates: Peter Akinola of Nigeria, Peter Jensen of Sydney, and Gregory Venables of the Sothorn Cone. The movement also experienced financial challenges after one of its main supporters, the diocese of Sydney, was on the verge of bankruptcy.

<sup>974</sup> For an extensive list of some of these networks and pan-Anglican organizations see: Kaye, *Introduction to World Anglicanism*, 63-64. One of the latest relational networks to have emerged is the Anglican Communion Retreat Centres Network, launched in September 2015.

Relational catholicity involves both encounter and conversation. Mark Chapman has described this as a ‘dialogical ecclesiology’. In his essay, ‘Ecclesiology and Postmodernity: An Anglican Perspective’, Chapman writes:

My own Anglican Communion can be used to illustrate some of the problems of a dialogical ecclesiology. These emerge from the very real conflict between those whom Mannion would label “neo-exclusivist” and those who are humbly prepared to engage in dialogue and to recognize the possibility of disagreement. The starting point is quite the opposite from that of the Roman Catholic Church: the Anglican Communion exists only by bonds of affection; there is no Anglican Communion Canon Law; and there is little effective central authority. [...] There are thirty-eight independent churches that have chosen to remain in communion with one another. Context is thus fundamental to Christian identity in such a situation.<sup>975</sup>

Chapman illustrates the practical challenges of this dialogical ecclesiology with a chronicle of the months building up to the 2008 Lambeth Conference:

Many Anglican bishops, however, chose not to take part in the conference, and they could not be compelled to attend. A few hundred, mainly from Africa and parts of southeast Asia, as well as some conservatives from North America, consequently abstained from the dialogical process. Many met in Jerusalem shortly beforehand at the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON) to draw up a different version of Anglicanism based not on dialogue but on a metaphysics of unity rooted in the exclusive dogmas of the reformation and a fixed interpretation of scripture. Ironically, their goal seems to be far closer to a tightly controlled curial model reminiscent of neo-exclusive Roman Catholicism.<sup>976</sup>

The dialogical process referred to by Chapman was the *Indaba* process. This was based on a ‘Zulu method of conflict resolution’ which, at Lambeth 2008, became ‘the largest

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<sup>975</sup> Mark Chapman, ‘Ecclesiology and Postmodernity: An Anglican Perspective’, in Doyle, *Ecclesiology and Exclusion*, 20.

<sup>976</sup> Ibid. 21.

experiment in ecclesial dialogue in the history of the church.’<sup>977</sup> The Indaba conversations remain part of a wider conversation across the Communion, through which Anglicans from local, diocesan and national churches are encouraged to continue talking and listening to each other in order to foster mutual understanding and reconciliation.<sup>978</sup> Yet, as pointed out by Chapman, this process will only work if people are prepared to engage in frank and open dialogue not just with those who think alike, but especially with those who hold different views. It requires what Hooker and Maurice described as ‘theological humility’. That is, the humility to recognize that the points of view of others may have intrinsic value, and the generosity to admit one’s own fallibility.

### **8.3.2. Relational catholicity, diversity and globalization**

The experience of relational catholicity includes two important aspects that deserve special attention: the inclusion of diversity and the challenges posed by globalization. In its response to the first Covenant draft, the American Episcopal Church acknowledged that, ‘[i]n this age of globalization and post-colonialism, our Anglican identity fosters a powerful and creative dynamic between the particular and the universal, the local and the global, the contextual and the catholic.’<sup>979</sup>

Postmodern theologians such as Rowan Williams, Sharon Betcher, Jaci Maraschin and Carlos Calvani, have been deeply critical of the impact of globalization on the church.<sup>980</sup> Williams, for instance, believes that the church’s catholicity is ‘a kind of great protest against globalization, because [...] the catholic is about wholeness, about the wholeness of the person, the wholeness of the local culture and language.’<sup>981</sup> Betcher, in this line too, identifies globalization with empire, raising important questions connected with global economic trends and postmodern consumerism. In her view, ‘[a]n exit visa

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<sup>977</sup> Ibid.

<sup>978</sup> Cf. Groves and Jones, *Living Reconciliation*, 162.

<sup>979</sup> TEC 1.1.

<sup>980</sup> For critiques of globalization ecclesiology within the Roman Catholic Church see Giovanni Pernigotto, ‘The Church: A place of exclusion or an intercultural community?’, in Doyle, *Ecclesiology and Exclusion*, 43-62. According to him: ‘Not only is a neo-exclusivism inappropriate for our postmodern world, but so also a form of ecclesial inclusivism that seeks a globalized Christianity bent solely on incorporating rather than respecting all others.’ 48.

<sup>981</sup> Rowan Williams, ‘One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church: Archbishop’s Address to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Global South to South Encounter in Ain Al Sukhna, Egypt’, 28 October 2005. Cited by Jesse Zink, ‘Patiently Living with Difference: Rowan Williams’ Archiepiscopal Ecclesiology and the Proposed Anglican Covenant’, *Ecclesiology* 9 (2013), 226.

from today's globalizing empire, its aggravation of environmental degradation and human psychic and economic poverty, may likewise come through the invention of new ways of flourishing<sup>982</sup>. Maraschin, who connects globalization with modernity, is also critical of its effects on the local and national churches. The mono-cultural drive within globalization threatens, according to him, the diversity of local cultures.<sup>983</sup> Calvani applies this basic reflection to global Anglicanism, and critiques what he regards as universalising tendencies in the Communion. According to him, the 'international structures we call the Anglican Communion also lays claim to universality but does not support the inevitable differences that arise from multiplicity.'<sup>984</sup> Duggan goes even further, and warns against the universalization of certain contextual views within Anglicanism. For him, there is:

[A]n invisible, more subtle form of colonialism that resists embracing postcolonialism. Postcolonial critiques seek to challenge master narratives and universalizing discourses that otherwise seek to homogenize and discipline identity. It is in this regard that contemporary Anglicans must be careful not to let their contextual interpretations of tradition or inclusive justice replicate universalizing discourses that dismiss other contextual Anglican interpretations.<sup>985</sup>

Duggan's warning here is directed to both postmodern and postcolonial churches who may be tempted to universalize their culturally contextual realities and views. In the case of some, appealing to traditional values and practices; in the case of others, to a liberal Western understanding of social justice and human rights. These forms of universalization, according to him, are more statements of neo-colonialism, than expressions of catholicity. There is, however, an important difference between the ways both groups operate. Whereas postcolonial conservative groups seek to impose a particular, culturally-bound, world view, through confessionalism and doctrinal consensus; postmodern revisionist Anglicans appeal to the freedom to act contextually in

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<sup>982</sup> Sharon V. Betcher, 'Resurrecting Christianities: Critical Theories and Constructive Postcolonial, Postmodern Christianities', *ATR* 87.2 (2005), 328.

<sup>983</sup> Cf. Maraschin, 'Culture, Spirit and Worship', 61.

<sup>984</sup> Calvani, 'From Modernity to Postmodernity', 109.

<sup>985</sup> Duggan, 'Postcolonial Anglicanism', 356-357.



the local church, even when this is perceived as an individualist approach that undermines a particular view of consensus-based catholicity. Duggan concludes raising a crucial question:

How then do Anglicans affirm the catholic whole without repeating colonial, universalizing totalities? Addressing that question will necessarily entail delicate theological and ecclesiological work in which Anglicans who prioritize either the plural, the contextual, or the catholic to the exclusion of the other two miss finer nuances.<sup>986</sup>

An Anglican understanding of catholicity, although recognising the global dimension of relationships, cannot uncritically embrace the cultural effects of globalization. In fact, relational catholicity, properly understood, affirms diversity as a direct consequence of a bottom-up ecclesiology of communion. In this sense, a diversity-affirming relational catholicity acts as a counter-cultural balance to mono-culturally driven globalization. A consensus-based, uniformity styled, top-down catholicity, as advocated by Global South leaders in the recent crisis, forges a form of globalization ecclesiology that acts as the antithesis to relational catholicity.

The inclusion of diversity within catholicity is not a postmodern invention. As pointed out above, it has been central to Anglicanism from its origins, expressed primarily through the notion of comprehensiveness. It was an essential element in the Elizabethan Settlement, during which Hooker developed his particularly inclusive view of the national church. It was also fundamental in Maurice's articulation of his ecclesiological synthesis. Diversity, as a dimension of catholicity, has significant precedents throughout Church history. It was present in the ecclesiological diversity of the New Testament, apostolic church. Calvani makes this point when he asserts that,

[T]oday there is a certain consensus among New Testament scholars that there were not only two parties in primitive Christianity, but many, all with tensions

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<sup>986</sup> Ibid. 366.

and conflicts. Gerd Theissen speaks of Judeo-Christianity, synoptic Christianity, Pauline Christianity, Johannine Christianity, and Gnostic Christianity.<sup>987</sup>

Likewise, during the Patristic period, diversity of liturgical practice, for example, was a common feature of the church. This diversity was not seen as incompatible with the church's claim to catholicity, but an extension of it. As church historian Henry Chadwick points out,

[I]n liturgy and ways of worship, the Christian story is one of remarkable diversity. Both St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great explicitly affirmed that in liturgical diversity there is one faith. When Monica arrived at Milan she began to continue with religious customs forbidden at Milan by Ambrose, whose wise formula was 'When in Rome, do what Rome does.' He meant 'You are not in Rome now, and ought not to be doing it here.'<sup>988</sup>

This takes us back to the previous reflections on the *lex orandi* and cultural contextuality. An obvious implication, well known by Anglicans, is that liturgical diversity does not undermine, but rather affirms relational catholicity. Within a Trinitarian doctrinal framework, Anglicans, as well as other Christians, should be able to express their catholicity, through diverse liturgies emanating from the local contexts. As underlined by Maraschin in his passionate appeal to his national church, there is still a long way to go in this area. However, the postcolonial and postmodern contexts in which Anglicans live out their faith should grant new opportunities to engage in a truly contextual liturgical renewal.

#### 8.4. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have focused on the two dimensions that have historically been perceived as central to Anglican ecclesiology: the contextual or local, and the catholic or global. For scholars like Maurice, the local, or national, incarnated the 'Protestant' ideal,

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<sup>987</sup> Calvani, 'From Modernity to Postmodernity', 114.

<sup>988</sup> Henry Chadwick, 'Local and Universal: An Anglican Perspective', *The Jurist* 52 (1992), 513.

whereas the universal made reference to the church's 'Catholic' nature. My concern here, however, has not been with theoretical or systematic ecclesiology, but with praxis ecclesiology. I have sought to describe these two dimensions from the starting point of an ecclesiology of communion, appealing to the actual experience of the local and the global in contemporary Anglicanism.

The two qualifiers of contextuality and catholicity, namely 'cultural' and 'relational' respectively, are not incidental but fully intentional. They each relate to an aspect of the lived experience that informs, even transforms, contextuality and catholicity. In the case of the former, it asserts that the context of each local and/or national church is profoundly shaped by its dominant culture. In the case of the latter, that the fundamental way Anglicans experience their belonging to a bigger whole, is through relationships. Gordon Light referred to this dimension, citing a well known definition of relational Anglicanism by Archbishop Tutu. In his words, 'Desmond Tutu was right when he said that the most important thing Anglicans do is 'meet'. In our 'meeting' we are pressed to speak and listen to each other, to challenge, encourage and care for one another.'<sup>989</sup> This dialogical dimension will be explored in more depth in chapter 9.

Despite the emphasis on practical ecclesiology in this chapter, it is important to stress that the experience of cultural contextuality and relational catholicity is by no means a perfect one – whatever perfection may look like in this instance. The balance between these two dimensions oscillates between one emphasis and the other. In some cases, the experience is more aspirational than real. Add to that the complexity of human relationships, and that of relationships between people from radically different cultural contexts, and the challenges increase exponentially. Yet, the way forward is not less relationships, but stronger ones. It is not less catholicity, but a deeper catholicity, able to embrace difference in order to encourage human flourishing.<sup>990</sup> It is not less contextuality, but a contextuality able to fully engage with one's own culture, and to accept the integrity of those of different cultures. Joseph Duggan describes this as 'the fundamental spiritual challenge' for contemporary Anglicans. In his words,

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<sup>989</sup> Gordon Light, 'Being Anglican in a pluralistic society: a Canadian perspective', in: Andrew Wingate, et al. (eds.), *Anglicanism: a global communion* (New York: Church Publishing, 1998), 143.

<sup>990</sup> Cf. Williams, *Tokens of Trust*, 106.

Anglicans must address the fundamental spiritual challenge of living among those who are different and making space for all to grow in communion with God. The blessing of catholicity is the way it encourages Anglicans to engage concretely with other Anglicans. To agree to anything else would mean that Anglicans redefine not only their Anglican identity but also this touchstone of a reformed catholicity.<sup>991</sup>

The next chapter will address this fundamental challenge from the perspective of sociology and cultural studies, by exploring Anglicanism as an example of an ecclesiology of *mestizaje*. In doing so, I will offer a new Anglican synthesis that is rooted in the tradition of Hooker and Maurice, in the articulations of Anglican identity derived from the responses to the Covenant process, and in contemporary models of cultural hybridity. Anglican identity, I will argue, is best understood as a *mestizaje* of catholic and protestant theologies, and as a third space in which relational catholicity and cultural contextuality are equally affirmed and sustained. The conclusions, although primarily connected with Anglican ecclesiology, may have an application beyond contemporary Anglicanism, to ecumenical dialogue and methodology, and intercultural theories and practice.

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<sup>991</sup> Duggan, 'Postcolonial Anglicanism', 366.



## Chapter 9. Anglicanism as an ecclesiology of *mestizaje*.

In the summer of 1999, as part of an internship at St. Timothy's Episcopal Church, near Washington D.C., I was invited to preach at the Iglesia de San José, a Hispanic Episcopal congregation in Arlington, Virginia. Their Sunday morning mass gathered around 150 worshippers, all Spanish speaking, representing nearly twenty Latin American nationalities. Within the congregation, there were a few white faces, but the overwhelming majority were *mestizos*, that is, women, men and children of mixed ancestry, European and indigenous; as well as a few Afro-Caribbeans, mostly from Cuba and the Dominican Republic. They constituted a small microcosm of the Hispanic world in the United States, and of the diversity of Latin America as a whole. This was a mestizo church, both by virtue of having a significant number of mestizo Anglicans in it, and because within the actual community coexisted a wide range of differentiated ethno-cultural groups. San José Episcopal Church was also a microcosm of the Anglican Communion. It was a great example of a community that was able to live with diversity, and where *mestizaje* offered a space for intercultural engagement and spiritual growth.

This anecdotal example illustrates, albeit in a limited way, how *mestizaje* is able to provide an ecclesio-theological space in which true human and spiritual flourishing can take place. Anglicans have experienced *mestizaje* at two levels: the theological and the cultural. From the perspective of cultural studies, as I will show below, this particular form of *mestizaje* has been applied by some to ecclesiological reflection. Although the literature in this area is somewhat limited, emerging primarily from the USA Latino context, its contributions provide some helpful insights for contemporary Anglican identity and ecclesiology. In this context, a *mestizaje* ecclesiology is deeply connected with the notion of interculturality as a model for deepening in both relational catholicity and cultural contextuality.

From the perspective of theology, Anglicanism has historically been conceived as a hybrid ecclesial model, born out of the Elizabethan Settlement, containing a *mestizaje* of Catholic and Protestant elements. Although the terms 'mestizo' or 'mestizaje' have not been employed, some scholars have used the language of hybridity in this context. To my knowledge, nevertheless, there have been no extensive explorations either of its meaning

or its implications.<sup>992</sup> This particular notion of mestizaje, far from being an innovation in Anglican theology and ecclesiology, has been present in Anglicanism from its genesis, and continues to be embodied in the Communion today.

These two dimensions of mestizaje, the cultural and the theological, are deeply connected in Anglican history. At some level, interculturalism and hybrid ecclesiology mirror each other, feed each other, and act as a counterbalance for each other. Hooker's conversational hermeneutics is a mestizo model for theological reflection, as much as Maurice's synthesis represents an ecclesiological mestizo for Anglicanism. Finally, I will show that mestizaje, as a cultural and ecclesiological metaphor, is able to both describe the Anglican Communion and challenge certain inherited modes of thinking about Anglicanism.

## **9.1. Mestizaje, hybridity and culture**

### ***9.1.1. Mestizaje and hybridity: what's in a word?***

In contemporary cultural studies the terms 'hybridity' and 'mestizaje' are largely used interchangeably. Some scholars, like Néstor García Canclini, defend the use of hybridity over mestizaje, on the basis of the limitations and connotations of the latter. According to García Canclini hybridity has a 'mayor capacidad de abarcar diversas mezclas interculturales que el mestizaje, limitado a las que ocurren entre razas.'<sup>993</sup> The Latin American scholar, nevertheless, fails to acknowledge that mestizaje has been applied to cultural synthesis almost from its origin, albeit as a direct result of the mixing of races.

In this chapter, although I will use the terms mestizaje and hybridity interchangeably, I will favour mestizaje for a number of reasons. First, because hybridity though applied to cultural studies in positive ways, has its origin in biology, where it is often associated with barrenness and lack of fertility. For example, the mixing of two fertile subjects such as a horse and a donkey produce a non-fertile hybrid, a mule.<sup>994</sup> On

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<sup>992</sup> The most extensive exposition on Anglican hybridity, explored in this chapter, is by Chinese theologian Kwok Pui-lan. Cf. Pui-lan, 'The Legacy', 47-70.

<sup>993</sup> Nestor García Canclini, 'Culturas híbridas y estrategias comunicacionales', *Estudios sobre las Culturas Contemporáneas* 2.3.5 (1997), 111. Tr. 'a greater capacity to include diverse intercultural mixtures than mestizaje, which is limited to racial mixing.'

<sup>994</sup> Cf. García Canclini, 'Culturas híbridas', 109-118.

the contrary, mestizaje, as a biological human phenomenon, is associated with the mixing of races, yielding fertile individuals and communities. Secondly, mestizaje is primarily concerned with people, rather than animals, plants or objects. From this perspective it is a more apt metaphor than hybridity for human societies and communities. Thirdly, and because of its human dimension, mestizaje has a longer and well attested history of being applied to culture and interculturalism. In fact, a direct result of racial intermingling is a cultural mestizaje. Finally, mestizaje has strong connections with a colonial past and a postcolonial present that involve elements of violence, inclusion and exclusion, not intrinsically present in the concept of hybridity. These we shall explore below.

The language of mestizaje has its roots in the Iberian colonization of the Americas from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. Literature professor Lourdes Martínez Echazabal has mapped out its development as a type of identity discourse in Latin America during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries clearly and succinctly. According to Martínez:

‘Mestizaje,’ the process of interracial and/or intercultural mixing, is a foundational theme in the Americas, particularly in those areas colonized by the Spanish and the Portuguese. During the nineteenth century, mestizaje was a recurrent trope indissolubly linked to the search for *lo americano* (that which constitutes an authentic [Latin] American identity in the face of European and/or Anglo-American values). Later, during the period of national consolidation and modernization (1920s-1960s), mestizaje underscored the affirmation of cultural identity as constituted by ‘national character’ (*lo cubano, lo mexicano, lo brasileño*, etc.). Most recently, since the late 1980s, the concept of mestizaje has come to play an important role in the recognition of the plurality of cultural identities in the region and, therefore, of the hybrid constitution of the nation.<sup>995</sup>

In today’s Latin America mestizaje is no longer used as an aspirational tool of racial blending, pointing to a future society in which all its members are ethnically and culturally mestizo. Instead, it is considered a new inclusive space in which diverse ethno-cultural groups can flourish in relationship with each other. Mestizaje becomes a

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<sup>995</sup> Lourdes Martinez-Echazabal, ‘Mestizaje and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity in Latin America, 1845-1959’, *Latin American Perspectives* 25.3 (1998), 21.



synonym of interculturalism, which will be explored in more depth below. This understanding of intercultural mestizaje is applied not just to Latin American contexts, but to other parts of the world, and it is not just limited to cultural studies, but to theories of communication,<sup>996</sup> literature,<sup>997</sup> law,<sup>998</sup> psychology<sup>999</sup> and theology.<sup>1000</sup>

Virgilio Elizondo, a Roman Catholic priest and theologian, is a good example of someone who has appropriated the notion of mestizaje as a theological metaphor, within a USA Latino context. Elizondo's works, particularly his books, *Galilean Journey* and *The Future is Mestizo*,<sup>1001</sup> may be more autobiographical than sociological or theological, appealing to somewhat utopian or romantic ideas of 'the new humanity'. Nevertheless, the value of his contributions as a US Hispanic theologian are novel and remarkable.

Elizondo describes two mestizajes in the history of the Mexican-American people. The first mestizaje took place around 'the Spanish-Catholic conquest of Mexico'.<sup>1002</sup> For him, 'the Catholic conquest of the Americas brought with it a new people, a new ethnos – la raza mestiza ("mixed clan, family", or "race")'.<sup>1003</sup> This process, however, was driven by violence. Not just physical, but cultural violence. In his words:

Catholic missionaries were the agents of a violence more radical than physical violence. They attempted to destroy what physical violence could not touch: the soul of the indigenous people. Despite the missionaries' opposition to the cruel and bloody ways of the conquistadores, the introduction of the religious symbols

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<sup>996</sup> Cf. García Canclini, 'Culturas híbridas'; Marwan M. Kraidy, *Hybridity or the Cultural Logic of Globalization* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2005); and Marwan Kraidy, 'Hybridity in Cultural Globalization', *Communication Theory* 12.3 (2002), 316-339.

<sup>997</sup> Cf. Consuelo Navarro, *El mestizaje en la literatura latinoamericana del siglo XX* (Madrid: Pliegos, 2003).

<sup>998</sup> Cf. Ariel E. Dulitzky, 'A Region in Denial: Racial Discrimination and Racism in Latin America', *Beyond Law* 24 (2001) Paper in the Canadian Afro-Latino Forum of Research Online: [http://canafro.iglooprojects.org/library/discrimi/a\\_region\\_i](http://canafro.iglooprojects.org/library/discrimi/a_region_i) Accessed on 29 September 2015.

<sup>999</sup> Cf. Néstor Medina, 'The Religious Psychology of Mestizaje: Gómez Suárez de Figueroa or Garcilaso Inca de la Vega', *Pastoral Psychology* 57 (2008), 115-124.

<sup>1000</sup> Cf. John P. Rossing, 'Mestizaje and Marginality: A Hispanic American Theology', *Theology Today* 45.3 (1988), 293-304.

<sup>1001</sup> Cf. Virgilio Elizondo, *Galilean Journey: The Mexican-American promise* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000), and Virgilio Elizondo, *The Future is Mestizo: life where cultures meet, revised edition* (Boulder, Col.: University Press of Colorado, 2000).

<sup>1002</sup> Elizondo, *Galilean Journey*, 9-13.

<sup>1003</sup> *Ibid.* 10.

of the Spanish intruders in effect affirmed and justified the way of the powerful and discredited the way of the powerless at the deepest level of their existence.<sup>1004</sup>

The second mestizaje, according to Elizondo, was the ‘Nordic-Protestant conquest of Mexico.’<sup>1005</sup> This particular colonization did not approve of ethnic mestizaje. Instead, it tried to maintain a pure European society in the Americas, mirroring the home contexts of the settlers, yet taking advantage of the freedoms of the new world. The result was a cultural, rather than racial, mestizaje. Although his analysis contains enormous generalizations, it draws a largely accurate picture. When describing the dynamics of mestizaje, in both its biological and cultural dimensions, Elizondo makes some significant observations. According to the Roman Catholic theologian:

Mestizaje is feared by established groups because it is perceived as a threat to the barriers of separation that consolidate self-identity and security. It is perceived as a threat to the security of human belonging – that is, to the inherited cultural identity that clearly defines who I am to myself and to the world.<sup>1006</sup>

Elizondo is here speaking from the experience of marginalization of many Mexican-American mestizos/as in the USA. The dominant white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon culture seeks to preserve its identity by excluding, marginalizing or treating mestizo *chicanos*<sup>1007</sup> in a paternalistic manner. Yet there is an added dynamic that makes these two-times mestizos doubly rejected, excluded or misunderstood. They are also regarded with amusement or suspicion by Mexican mestizos. In this sense, he points out that:

A mestizo group represent a particularly serious threat to its two parent cultures. The mestizo does not fit conveniently into the analysis categories used by either parent group. The mestizo may understand them far better than they understand

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<sup>1004</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>1005</sup> Ibid. 13-16.

<sup>1006</sup> Ibid. 18.

<sup>1007</sup> ‘Chicano’ stands for the Mexican-American population of the southern states of the USA who predate the American colonization, as well as more recent Mexican migrants.

him or her. To be an insider-outsider, as is the mestizo, is to have closeness to and distance from both parent cultures.<sup>1008</sup>

At this point, Elizondo introduces an important category in the mestizaje debate, that of 'parent culture'. Here, we are no longer in the territory of ethnic parents, breeding racially mixed children. Rather, we have moved into the broader arena of cultural contexts interacting with each other and giving birth to mestizo cultures. The parent cultures, according to Elizondo, struggle to recognize the legitimacy of the new mestizo culture.

A similar notion is described by Néstor Medina, when exploring 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish-Indigenous mestizaje in the New World.<sup>1009</sup> Medina approaches the subject of mestizaje historically (as a social construction in 16<sup>th</sup> century Latin America) and psychologically (as a means to construct one's own identity), using the Peruvian mestizo Garcilaso Inca de la Vega as an example. He shows how Garcilaso Inca renamed and reclaimed the identity label of mestizo, previously rejected by both indigenous and Spanish parent cultures. According to Medina:

Doubly rejected by the indigenous and the Spanish, mestizos/as were set apart, differentiating them from both ancestry lines. In this way, and in these everyday living situations, mestizos/as forged a collective consciousness. They began to (re)define themselves as people. Occupying ambiguous social and ideological spaces, mestizos/as constituted themselves in different ways in different countries as a different ethnocultural, and sociopolitical unit, carrying their Spanish and indigenous ancestral genealogies. It is at this historical juncture that we find Garcilaso de la Vega and his articulation of mestizaje. To my knowledge, he is the earliest example of how mestizo/a descendants began to construct their mestizo/a identity, as they (re)claimed their legitimacy as people amidst uneven social structures that discriminated against them on the basis of their mixed ethnocultural and racialized background.<sup>1010</sup>

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<sup>1008</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1009</sup> Medina, 'Religious Psychology of Mestizaje', 115–124.

<sup>1010</sup> Ibid. 118.

In the case of Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, the way he resolved his inner identity conflict and affirmed his ethnocultural mestizaje, was through the adoption of Roman Catholicism. According to Medina, the work of the Peruvian Garcilaso provides an invaluable example of how a third space of sociocultural identity can be constructed affirming, rather than rejecting, the two parent cultures, as well as ‘the central role of religion in it.’<sup>1011</sup>

### ***9.1.2. Mestizaje critiques, objections and limitations***

There are serious critiques both to the difficulties and limitations intrinsic to hybrid models, and to the way in which mestizaje has been employed ideologically as an instrument to perpetuate socio-economic inequalities. The latter criticism is widespread in the context of racial mestizaje in Latin America. The former is concerned more with cultural hybridity conceptually, yet it also seems to echo some of the social and economic consequences of this model.

Communications theorist Marwan Kraidy, from the University of Pennsylvania, believes that hybridity ‘is mired in two paradoxes. The first is that hybridity is understood as subversive and pervasive, exceptional and ordinary, marginal yet mainstream.’<sup>1012</sup> This is certainly true of much of the literature on mestizaje and hybridity in cultural studies. The second is that hybridity’s extreme conceptual openness, paradoxically, can lead to ‘unpredictable, arbitrary, and exclusionary closure.’<sup>1013</sup> In other words, that the organic, fluid and flexible nature of hybrid boundaries, can be used to include or exclude certain groups, based on different criteria. In this instance, it is paramount that the criteria used to define the red-lines of inclusion-exclusion have a certain degree of rigour. That is, that they are consistent with the inner narrative it is attempting to articulate, and that they are rooted on solid principles of inclusion as well as on the protection of marginalized minorities.

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<sup>1011</sup> Ibid. 115.

<sup>1012</sup> Kraidy, ‘Hybridity in Cultural Globalization’, 321.

<sup>1013</sup> Ibid. For Kraidy, ‘These paradoxes have become wedges through which critics have attacked hybridity as poststructuralist license, and accused its proponents of reactionary politics wrapped in theoretical jargon.’ 321.

Kraidy lists a number of objections to the notion of cultural hybridity. Most of these criticisms have been articulated by anthropologist Pnina Werbner.<sup>1014</sup> According to Werbner, cultural hybridity, as a concept, is theoretically ‘meaningless’ and adds nothing new or significant to the understanding of culture since all culture is by nature hybrid.<sup>1015</sup> Whereas there is some truth in this objection, Werbner fails to differentiate between a conscious and explicit hybrid culture, which shapes personal or social identity, and the type of cultural hybridity that is implicit and undifferentiated, because it has become the dominant culture. Whereas the latter may be considered an obvious and somewhat useless truism, the former plays a significant role in identity formation. Other objections include the fact that an excessive emphasis on hybridity ‘leaves all the old problems of class exploitation and racist oppression unresolved.’<sup>1016</sup> And, most significantly, that in multicultural contexts, ‘hybridity is seen as a strategy of cooptation used by the power holders to neutralize difference.’<sup>1017</sup> The last two criticisms are particularly aimed at how the notion of ethnic hybridity or *mestizaje* has been (ab)used by those in power to perpetuate the status quo. This type of objection is widespread in Latin America. For Medina:

*Mestizaje* became a mechanism for whitening the entire population, and for replacing the indigenous peoples with mestizos/as. It is in this way that the indigenous people were silenced from the social and political social fabric of the vast regions of Latin America for the last five centuries, until very recently.<sup>1018</sup>

This criticism of ethnic *mestizaje* as ‘an all-inclusive ideology of exclusion’<sup>1019</sup> is echoed by many other social scientists. Ariel Dulitzky in ‘A Region in Denial’ advocates that

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<sup>1014</sup> Pnina Werbner, ‘Introduction: The dialectics of cultural hybridity’, in P. Werbner and T. Moddod (eds.), *Debating cultural hybridity: Multi-cultural identities and the politics of anti-racism* (London: Zed Books, 1997), 1-26.

<sup>1015</sup> According to her: ‘All cultures are always hybrid [...]. Hybridity is meaningless as a description of ‘culture,’ because this ‘museumizes’ culture as a ‘thing.’ [...] Culture as an analytic concept is always hybrid [...] since it can be understood properly only as the historically negotiated creation of more or less coherent symbolic and social worlds’. Ibid. 15.

<sup>1016</sup> Kraidy, ‘Hybridity in Cultural Globalization’, 322.

<sup>1017</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1018</sup> Medina, ‘Religious Psychology of *Mestizaje*’, 123.

<sup>1019</sup> Peter Wade, ‘Rethinking *Mestizaje*: Ideology and Lived Experience’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 37 (2005), 241. For a critique of *mestizaje* ideology see: Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White*:

some Latin American governments use mestizaje ideology to justify covert racial discrimination.<sup>1020</sup> According to him, many of these governments ‘have engaged in a campaign to officially do away with any racial identification by claiming that the population is a mixed race (mestizaje).’<sup>1021</sup> This affects particularly the way official censuses are created, avoiding the question of ethnicity-race, and the resulting statistics. The consequence of this practice is, according to Dulitzky, alarming, for ‘it prevents the true plight of sectors that are victims of discrimination from being known... [and] makes it impossible to implement public policies to overcome these inequities.’<sup>1022</sup>

Dulitzky observes that in Latin America, mestizaje has been employed ideologically as a ‘proof of harmony between different racial and ethnic groups’ in political propaganda,<sup>1023</sup> and as ‘one of the most masterful forms of racism.’<sup>1024</sup> For, in ‘order to climb the social ladder, one must be as white as possible and the blending of races is the way to attain it.’<sup>1025</sup>

British anthropologist Peter Wade, although acknowledging the dimension of racist exclusion in Latin American mestizaje, challenges this view. For Wade, the ideology of mestizaje ‘inherently implies a permanent dimension of national differentiation,’ and ‘while exclusion undoubtedly exists in practice, inclusion is more than simply a mask.’<sup>1026</sup> Wade’s rethinking of mestizaje recognizes both its experiential dimension (‘it’s a lived in thing’) as opposed to solely ideological, and its affirmation of difference, as opposed to simply homogeneity. He writes:

This approach emphasises the ways in which mestizaje as a lived process, which encompasses, but is not limited to, ideology, involves the maintenance of enduring spaces for racial-cultural difference alongside spaces of sameness and homogeneity. Scholars have recognized that mestizaje does not have a single

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*Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993); Winthrop Wright, *Café Con Leche: Race, Class and National Image in Venezuela* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Florencia E. Mallon, ‘Constructing Mestizaje in Latin America: Authenticity, Marginality and Gender in the Claiming of Ethnic Identities’, *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2.1 (1996), 171.

<sup>1020</sup> Cf. Dulitzky, ‘A Region in Denial’.

<sup>1021</sup> Ibid. 17.

<sup>1022</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1023</sup> Ibid. 19. Dulitzky cites here the example of Cuba.

<sup>1024</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>1025</sup> Ibid. The author calls this ‘pigmentocracy’.

<sup>1026</sup> Wade, ‘Rethinking *Mestizaje*’, 239.

meaning within the Latin American context, and contains within it tensions between sameness and difference, and between inclusion and exclusion.<sup>1027</sup>

Wade's contribution to this debate is the recognition that *mestizaje* is not a mere synonym of social homogeneity and shallow inclusivity (i.e. covert exclusivity). Rather, *mestizaje* ideologies include true diversity and differentiation, 'maintaining permanent spaces, of a particular kind, for blackness and indigenusness, and creating a mosaic image of national identity.'<sup>1028</sup> In other words, *mestizaje* acts as a third space in which a wide range of diverse ethnocultural groups, including ethnic *mestizos*, are able to coexist with each other. This has significant implications for the way in which cultural *mestizaje* operates as an intercultural social phenomenon.

### ***9.1.3. Mestizaje as interculturality: two examples from Quebec and Peru***

Within cultural studies *mestizaje* is often associated with the notion of interculturality. When the focus of *mestizaje* is primarily on being a dynamic process of intercultural, rather than interracial, mixing, it becomes a synonym of interculturality.<sup>1029</sup> According to the advocates of intercultural societies, monoculturality failed in its attempt to impose a one-size-fits-all culture, whilst multiculturalism revealed important cracks in the fabric of society that made this model inadequate for the current context. The only way forward is the strengthening of intercultural relations that affirm diversity and difference, yet seek a deeper engagement and a more mature interaction between peoples and cultures. According to García Canclini only *mestizaje* (hybridity) can lead to interculturality as a model for social cohesion in democratic systems. In his own words:

La hibridación, como proceso de intersección y transacciones, es lo que hace posible que la multiculturalidad evite lo que tiene de segregación y pueda convertirse en interculturalidad. Las políticas de hibridación pueden servir para trabajar democráticamente con las divergencias, para que la historia no se reduzca

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<sup>1027</sup> Ibid. 239-240.

<sup>1028</sup> Ibid. 240.

<sup>1029</sup> Cf. Róger Tuero (ed.), *Mestizaje e Interculturalismo: Diálogos con William Ospina* (Santa Cruz, Bolivia: Observatorio Político Nacional, 2009).

a guerras entre culturas. Podemos elegir vivir en estado de guerra o en estado de hibridación.<sup>1030</sup>

There are two relevant examples from North and South America in which governments have explicitly opted for intercultural policies and social models. One comes from Quebec, the francophone province of Canada, the other from Peru, one of the most racially mixed (mestizo) societies in Latin America.<sup>1031</sup>

#### *(a) Interculturality in Quebec*

In the case of Quebec, I focus here on the document ‘Building the Future: A time for reconciliation’, edited by Gerard Boucher and Charles Taylor.<sup>1032</sup> This report was commissioned by the provincial government in early 2007 and published a year later. The authors address the socio-cultural, legal and ethical issues emerging from the act of accommodating (accommodation) diverse cultural and religious groups that coexist with each other in Quebec.

Quebec, a province with a minority ethnolinguistic population within Canada as a whole, has been dealing both with the tensions of preserving a minority French identity within a majority Anglo-Saxon nation, and that of preserving that same identity within the context of an increasingly multicultural society, partly the result of migration movements. Particularly relevant in this report are chapter 6, on the model that Quebec has adopted concerning intercultural relations, and chapter 10, on the state of intercultural relations.<sup>1033</sup> For the authors, interculturalism is a paradigm which emphasizes social cohesion and integration through communal values, as well as the respect of differences

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<sup>1030</sup> <http://nestorgarciacancini.net/index.php/culturas-hibridas> Accessed 4 March 2015. Tr. ‘Hybridization, as a process of intersection and transactions, makes it possible for multiculturalism to avoid its elements of segregation, so it can become interculturality. Hybridization policies can serve to work democratically with divergences, so that history is not reduced to culture wars. We can choose to live either in a state of war, or in a state of hybridization.’

<sup>1031</sup> According to official Peruvian government statistics, 55% of the population consider themselves mestizos. Cf. Ministerio de Cultura de Perú, *Enfoque Intercultural: Aportaciones para la gestión pública*. (Lima: MCP, 2014), 19.

<sup>1032</sup> Gerard Boucher & Charles Taylor, *Building the Future: A time for reconciliation Report* (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2008).

<sup>1033</sup> Ibid. 199-218.



and diversity.<sup>1034</sup> Multiculturalism, in contrast, favours bilingualism, the protection of multiple cultural identities and a “mosaic” vision of society<sup>1035</sup>, which became a classic Canadian metaphor.

Chapter 6 advocates an intercultural model of ‘pluralistic integration’, underpinned by three key notions: equality (as the overarching ideal), reciprocity (as a rule that demands interaction with others), and socio-economic mobility.<sup>1036</sup> The authors offer a succinct and useful definition of interculturalism as ‘a way of promoting ethnocultural relations characterized by interaction in a spirit of respect for differences.’<sup>1037</sup> Likewise, they highlight the tensions between the two poles of respect for diversity, on one end, and sustaining social cohesion, on the other. The social bond, according to the report, relies on the acceptance of certain symbolic references, such as ‘the founding traditions and values that have been forged through history and structure the collective imagination.’<sup>1038</sup> In the context of Quebec, the authors remind us that:

One characteristic weighs heavily in the balance for Québec, that of its minority position in a large, powerful English-speaking environment, which, in addition, speaks the language of globalization. To varying degrees depending on the eras, cultural insecurity appears as a constant in Québec history among French-speakers, English-speakers and the aboriginal peoples. Debate on intercultural relations has thus always displayed a strong concern for the perpetuation of the French-language culture.<sup>1039</sup>

The chapter concludes by summarizing Quebec’s approach to interculturalism as one that: a) establishes French as the common language; b) affirms pluralism and the protection of rights; c) acknowledges the tension between diversity and social cohesion; d) seeks integration and participation; and e) advocates interaction.<sup>1040</sup>

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<sup>1034</sup> Ibid. Cf. 19-20, 118, and 120-1.

<sup>1035</sup> Ibid. Cf. 214.

<sup>1036</sup> Cf. Ibid. 114.

<sup>1037</sup> Ibid. 118.

<sup>1038</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1039</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1040</sup> Cf. Ibid. 121.

Chapter 10 tests the current health of interculturalism in Quebec. The authors identify two issues that are recurring in recent debates. One is the spatial rifts between Montréal and the regions, with a particular reference to economic and social differences.<sup>1041</sup> According to the report:

However, several surveys conducted over the past year devoted to the theme of accommodation did not reveal any spatial difference between perceptions and attitudes, levels of support or rejection, and so on. This is true of harmonization practices in general, denominational public schools, subsidies for ethnoreligious schools, the wearing of turbans or Islamic headscarves at school or during soccer matches, adjustments pertaining to prayer rooms, leave for religious holidays, separate phys ed classes for boys and girls, voting with the face covered, and so on.<sup>1042</sup>

The second issue is whether Montréal itself is becoming a ghettoized city. Here, a comparative study with other Canadian cities, Toronto and Vancouver, ‘reveals that racialized groups in Montréal have more extensive contact with the members of the host society.’<sup>1043</sup> The third issue addressed is that of social and cultural divides, connected in part with the loss of trust in the political classes and economic (even intellectual) elites.<sup>1044</sup> According to the report, ‘French-Canadian Quebecers display considerable diversity from the standpoint of religion, ideology and customs, as do immigrants and ethnic minorities.’<sup>1045</sup> Finally, the report identifies one of the key dangers resulting from the identity threats some Quebecers perceive. The authors raise several questions in this respect:

In what way would the French-Canadian heritage be threatened thereby, bearing in mind, once again, the importance of the size of the population and the extensive institutional network underpinning it, in addition to the protection that Bill 101

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<sup>1041</sup> Cf. Ibid.204.

<sup>1042</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1043</sup> Ibid. 205.

<sup>1044</sup> Cf. Ibid. 206.

<sup>1045</sup> Ibid.

offers? What is the source of the temptation that some people feel to go it alone, in a manner of speaking, if not self-doubt and fear of the Other, the two stumbling blocks of the French-Canadian past?<sup>1046</sup>

According to them, to ‘surrender to this type of anxiety would be to create conditions favourable to the emergence of new solitudes, individual withdrawal and the impoverishment of everyone.’<sup>1047</sup> The language of ‘new solitudes’ to describe negative responses to interculturalism, which result in social isolation and cultural ghettoization, is significant. It serves to poignantly describe the adverse effects of individual and group social entrenchments, as undermining the basis for intercultural relations.

The tensions described in ‘Building the Future’ also resonate with the ones highlighted within contemporary Anglican ecclesiology and identity in chapter 8. The tension between cultural contextuality, reflecting the diversity of local contexts, and relational catholicity, embodying the wider search for interprovincial unity, has been a source of strain in the Anglican Communion. In the intercultural context of global Anglicanism, an added complication lies in the diverse ways in which the founding traditions and values have been interpreted by different groups in different provinces. Although the end result cannot be described as ‘new solitudes’, in the sense in which the Canadian report defines them, global Anglican alignments run the risk of developing into ecclesial solitudes. Finally, while it remains unclear what the actual effects of this report have been on official government policies, its conclusions have certainly raised awareness at the highest level of the key issues at stake in an intercultural model of society.

### ***(b) Interculturality in Peru***

The other example of a secular government that has chosen to follow an intercultural social agenda comes from Peru. The language of *mestizaje* as an ideology, pervasive in Peru until very recently,<sup>1048</sup> has been reframed in the last decade under the notion of

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<sup>1046</sup> Ibid. 212. Bill 101, established French as Quebec’s public common language in 1977.

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1048</sup> Cf. Antonio Belaúnde Moreyra, ‘El Perú, país mestizo’. *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 417 (1985), 37-56.

interculturalism. The vast majority of the work done on this field has been carried out by the Vice-ministry of Interculturality, dependent on the Ministry of Culture. Its report from 2014, 'Enfoque Intercultural: Aportaciones para la gestión pública',<sup>1049</sup> remains the most comprehensive study on the situation of interculturality in the country.

The report identified 52 indigenous people-groups in Peru: 48 in the Amazonia region and 4 in the Andes. This diversity represents a wide range of linguistic and cultural groups. In the country, around 15% of the population (4 million) speaks an indigenous language as well as Spanish. In addition to the indigenous groups, Peru has other ethno-cultural minorities: Afro-Peruvians, Asian, Italian and Northern European, each the result either of the slave trade or different migrations in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to a recent study by the National Statistics Institute of Peru, 55% of the population define themselves as mestizos, 23% as Quechua, and only 6% as white.<sup>1050</sup> The 2014 report defines interculturality by contrasting 'national' and 'intercultural' models of State. According to the authors:

El Estado nacional es monocultural y se organiza en beneficio de un grupo dominante empujando a las minorías a la asimilación de la cultura oficial o condenándolas a la exclusión social. Por el contrario, el Estado intercultural reconoce el derecho de las mayorías y minorías: conciliar sus diferencias culturales con los deberes y derechos ciudadanos.<sup>1051</sup>

The document describes Peru as a culturally diverse society that seeks to generate intercultural citizens. According to the authors, the keys to facing cultural diversity effectively are, a) respect and b) the ability to consider all cultures, religions and ethnic groups as 'equally valuable'. Interculturality is therefore defined not as an ideology, but as a 'practice based on respect and on valuing our differences.'<sup>1052</sup> The report cites the

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<sup>1049</sup> Cf. Ministerio de Cultura de Perú, 'Enfoque Intercultural: Aportaciones para la gestión pública' (Lima: MCP, 2014).

<sup>1050</sup> Cf. Ibid. 17. Data from the 'Encuesta Nacional de Hogares' (ENAH), 2012.

<sup>1051</sup> Ibid. 11. Tr. 'The national State is monocultural, with an organization that benefits of one dominant group, pushing minorities to the assimilation of the official culture, or else condemning them to social exclusion. On the contrary, the intercultural State recognizes the rights of majority and minority groups: reconciling their cultural differences with their civic duties and rights.'

<sup>1052</sup> Cf. Ibid. 19. According to the report: 'El Perú es una sociedad cuya diversidad cultural y cuyo Estado debe generar ciudadanía intercultural; esto es, ciudadanas y ciudadanos que puedan afrontar la diversidad

work of Canadian philosopher Will Kymlicka, for whom the intercultural citizen is someone able to ‘demonstrate a whole range of positive personal attitudes toward diversity.’<sup>1053</sup> These attitudes, according to Kymlicka include, ‘being curious rather than fearful about other cultures and people; being open to learn from other ways of life, and prepared to consider other people’s view points, rather than assuming one’s own perspective or inherited lifestyle as superior [...]’.<sup>1054</sup> These definitions lay the foundation for what the documents considers the centrepiece of interculturality, namely, the ability to engage in conversation as equals.<sup>1055</sup> In reality, however, the Peruvian authors admit that such dialogical process is not always an easy task.<sup>1056</sup> This dialogical condition, present also in the Québécois government understanding of interculturality, is central to mestizaje ecclesiology.

## 9.2. Ecclesiological and cultural mestizaje in Anglicanism

### 9.2.1. Interculturality and mestizaje ecclesiology in other church traditions

As noted above, Virgilio Elizondo remains the most renown articulator of mestizaje ecclesiology in Roman Catholicism. His reflections on contemporary mestizaje are based on both the theological event of the Incarnation, and the historical Jesus’ ethno-cultural mestizaje. According to him, Jesus’ homeland, Galilee, was a place of mixture and mestizaje between Jewish, Greek and other middle-Eastern peoples and cultures. Because of this, Jesus himself may be described as ‘the cultural mestizo’.<sup>1057</sup> For Elizondo, Jesus’ own mestizaje shapes his work and becomes ‘the root of the essential catholicity of his movement, of his church.’<sup>1058</sup> Theologically and culturally Jesus of Nazareth, the human-divine mestizo, launches a movement in which mestizaje lies at the heart of its DNA.

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cultural de modo adecuado, respetando y considerando como igualmente valiosas todas las culturas, etnias y religiones que conviven en el territorio. [...] La interculturalidad es, pues, una práctica de respeto y valoración de nuestras diferencias.’

<sup>1053</sup> Will Kymlicka, ‘Estados multiculturales y ciudadanos interculturales’, in N. Vigil and R. Zariquiey (eds.), *Actas del V Congreso Latinoamericano de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe: Realidad multilingüe y desafío intercultural. Ciudadanía, cultura y educación* (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2003), 21.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1055</sup> According to the report: ‘Lo fundamental y necesario es poder entablar el diálogo en condición de igualdad.’ ‘Enfoque Intercultural’, 20.

<sup>1056</sup> Cf. Ibid. 21.

<sup>1057</sup> Elizondo, *Future is Mestizo*, 79.

<sup>1058</sup> Ibid.

This is not just an ontological mestizaje connected with the dual image of the church as a human-divine hybrid, formed by saints and sinners alike. It is also a socio-cultural mestizaje that takes place every time that the church ‘incarnates’ itself in a new cultural milieu. According to the North American theologian, with ‘each new mestizaje, some racio-cultural frontiers that divide humankind are razed and a new unity is formed.’<sup>1059</sup> In Elizondo’s view, therefore, mestizaje is an intrinsic feature of the church, *because* it was a defining aspect of its mestizo founder.

In recent years, in addition to Elizondo, others have attempted to define and promote intercultural ecclesiologies both in Catholic and Protestant circles. Lutheran pastor and theologian John Rossing in the USA, Italian Roman Catholic theologian Giovanni Permigotto, and the United Church of Canada (UCC),<sup>1060</sup> are examples of these attempts. Although the language of mestizaje is not used by all of them, the type of interculturality advocated is no different from intercultural mestizaje.

Rossing, working in a Texan context, draws from a range of Hispanic theologians.<sup>1061</sup> Following these theologians he identifies the Incarnation as ‘the ultimate intersection, the supreme mestizaje,’<sup>1062</sup> and the lens through which ‘other intersections between Christianity and the world’<sup>1063</sup> need to be seen. Rossing appealed to white American churches to take seriously their responsibility to enable the creation of mestizo ecclesial spaces for the Hispanic communities. In his words:

If North American Christians listen to the voices of Hispanic Christians speaking from the intersections in our society, we can learn to see the entire church as a mestizo community, in which people from all nations and cultures are reconciled to God and to each other.<sup>1064</sup>

The mestizo community advocated by Rossing is a third space where intercultural diversity can coexist within an ecclesial community. He rejects mere translation or

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<sup>1059</sup> Elizondo, *Galilean Journey*, 91.

<sup>1060</sup> The UCC is the largest Protestant denomination in Canada.

<sup>1061</sup> In addition to Virgilio Elizondo, he cites: Justo L. González, ‘Let the Dead Gods Bury their Dead’, *Apuntes* 4 (1984); Orlando E. Costas, *Christ Outside the Gate: Mission Beyond Christendom* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1982); and Ricardo Ramirez, ‘Liturgy from the Mexican American Perspective’, *Worship* 51 (1977).

<sup>1062</sup> Rossing, ‘Mestizaje and Marginality’, 299.

<sup>1063</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1064</sup> *Ibid.* 304.

adaptation cultural models for Hispanic churches, in favour of truly inculturated ecclesial expressions.

In Canada, the UCC has been exploring issues of inclusion, exclusion and culture for a number of decades. Following the trends in the wider nation, it has moved its emphasis away from multiculturalism to interculturalism. In a paper published in 2009, this Protestant denomination recognizing the pluralistic nature of Canadian society went on to affirm:

The United Church wants to go one step further. In our church, we want people from all different cultures to listen to each other and be heard. We want everyone to participate fully. We want our leaders to be as diverse as our population. We don't want one dominant culture to decide how we do things. God is calling the United Church to change. We are trying to become more intercultural.<sup>1065</sup>

The dialogical and listening process appears to be central to their vision of interculturalism. Equally central is an emphasis on equality, diversity, and avoiding dominant culture hegemonies. For the UCC, interculturalism has three main components: 'comprehensive mutuality, reciprocity, and equality.'<sup>1066</sup> In a more extensive definition, they state that:

Our social structures and everyday interactions are defined by justice, mutuality, respect, equality, understanding, acceptance, freedom, diversity, peace-making, and celebration. Intercultural community hopes to take us deeper than multicultural or cross-cultural models of community.<sup>1067</sup>

From a Roman Catholic perspective, Pernigotto also reflects on issues of inclusion and exclusion in contemporary praxis ecclesiology. In his essay, 'The Church: a place of exclusion or an intercultural community?', he draws upon the philosophical work of Roberto Mancini. For Mancini, 'the centre of an authentic experience of a true

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<sup>1065</sup> UCC, 'What is the intercultural church?' (Toronto: UCC, 2009), 2.

<sup>1066</sup> UCC, 'Defining Multicultural, Cross-cultural and Intercultural' (Toronto: UCC, 2011), 2.

<sup>1067</sup> Ibid.

community lies in an attitude of radical listening and recognition of the “other”.<sup>1068</sup> This is a dialogical ecclesiology that has a transformative power. ‘A true dialogue does not leave anybody in their former condition.’<sup>1069</sup> According to Pernigotto:

In an intercultural way, the church can become a believing community again as it was in the beginning: a tent of listening and thus of silence and respect, a tent of mutual hospitality where no one loses one’s own identity; instead one shares one’s stories and one’s life on the basis of a common human-divine dignity.<sup>1070</sup>

Pernigotto, following Mancini very closely, advocates here a kingdom-of-God-centred ecclesiology, that seeks to engage with every human being and society, whatever their culture or religious affiliation. In this sense, its appeal to interculturalism adopts the widest possible approach. The experience of our shared humanity taking a higher significance than individual religious experiences, yet able to affirm the distinctiveness and value of individual cultural and religious expressions. The key to this intercultural ecclesiology is dialogue, a process that involves listening, silence and respect for difference, in the context of human hospitality.

The works of both Giovanni Pernigotto and the UCC in Canada are directly influenced by the sociological and secular approaches to interculturality. The biblical event at the heart of Pernigotto’s and the UCC’s theological reflections is Pentecost, in the Acts of the Apostles. This story is seen as the pivotal example of God’s Spirit bringing people together.<sup>1071</sup> Yet, as noted by the UCC, Jesus was the best example of an intercultural human being, since he himself was changed by encountering the ‘other’ and by engaging in conversation.<sup>1072</sup>

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<sup>1068</sup> Giovanni Pernigotto, ‘The Church: A place of exclusion or an intercultural community?’, in Doyle, *Ecclesiology and Exclusion*, 43.

<sup>1069</sup> Ibid. 48.

<sup>1070</sup> Ibid. 49.

<sup>1071</sup> Cf. ‘What is the intercultural church?’, 2; Pernigotto, ‘The Church’, 45.

<sup>1072</sup> Cf. Matthew 15:21–28 and Mark 7:24–30.



### 9.2.2. Interculturality and mestizaje ecclesiology in Anglicanism

Ecclesialogically, the church has been described as ‘the mestizo par excellence because it strives to bring about a new synthesis of the earthly and the heavenly (Eph. 1:10).’<sup>1073</sup> In the case of Anglicanism, in addition to this fundamental theological synthesis, there have been attempts to construct other forms of hybridization. Peter Wade offers a helpful distinction between two versions of hybridity that can shed light on contemporary Anglican mestizaje. According to Wade:

The first, which as a shorthand I will call roots-hybridity, depends on a simple syncretism of two anterior wholes to make a third new whole. In this teleological mode, roots and belonging are paramount and exclusive essentialisms can easily be reproduced. The second, which I will label routes-hybridity, depends on unpredictable diasporic movements, creating unstable complex networks, not reducible to teleological progressions, but moving to and fro erratically in time and space. In this mode, routes and movement are paramount and exclusivism gives way to more inclusive identities based, for example, on perception of common interests and goals, rather than common origins.<sup>1074</sup>

In Anglican identity, ‘roots’ and ‘routes’ mestizaje coexist with each other in a third space, that of ecclesiological mestizaje. In Anglican history roots-mestizaje has always been ecclesio-theological. In other words, it has defined itself as the result of the great Elizabethan synthesis, articulated by Hooker through his conversational hermeneutical paradigm. This is what theologians mean when they describe the Anglican way as ‘a hybrid of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.’<sup>1075</sup> Theologically, this roots-mestizaje, albeit imperfectly, reflects the supreme mestizaje that took place at the Incarnation. Virgilio Elizondo from a Catholic perspective, and Martyn Percy from an Anglican one, have made this important connection. For Percy, Anglicanism’s ‘very appeal lies in its

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<sup>1073</sup> Elizondo, *Galilean Journey*, 107.

<sup>1074</sup> Wade, ‘Rethinking Mestizaje’, 257.

<sup>1075</sup> Ralph McMichael (ed.), *The Vocation of Anglican Theology: Sources and Essays* (London: SCM, 2014), xi. Cf. Stephanie Spellers, ‘Monocultural Church in a Hybrid World’, in Phil Snider, *The hyphenateds: how emergence Christianity is re-traditioning mainline practices* (Danvers, MA: Chalice Press, 2011), 17.

own distinctive hybridity. Indeed, hybridity is an important key in understanding the wisdom of God – in Christ, his incarnate son – who chooses to work through miscibility rather than purity.<sup>1076</sup>

The routes-mestizaje, on the other hand, is ecclesio-cultural in nature, appealing both to cultural contextuality and to relational catholicity. Kwok Pui-lan refers to this dimension in her essay, ‘The Legacy of Cultural Hegemony in the Anglican Church’.<sup>1077</sup> Here, she discusses Bhabha’s understanding of cultures being continually in a process of hybridity.<sup>1078</sup> According to Pui-lan, ‘cultural hybridity challenges the myths of purity and cultural lineage, homogeneity of identity, and monolithic understandings of national cultures.’<sup>1079</sup> Although the starting point of her understanding of Anglican mestizaje is the ecclesio-theological synthesis born in sixteenth century England, Pui-lan is more interested in the unsuccessful routes-hybridity of the nineteenth century. According to the Chinese theologian, Anglicans missed an opportunity during the colonial age to develop a process of ecclesio-cultural hybridity worldwide. Instead, ‘Anglican churches were formed during the imperialistic period as mimics of churches at the metropolitan center.’<sup>1080</sup> In her conclusion, she raises some significant questions for the future of Anglicanism, whilst encouraging a mestizo ecclesiology:

The urgent question is how to construct identity in community so that the result will not be fragmentation, fundamentalism, or balkanization. The Anglican Communion can offer a unique prophetic model. On the one hand, it should encourage the experimentation of new cultural forms among member churches. On the other hand, the different cultural hybrids are in communion with one another, so that each can serve as a mirror for the others, without absolutizing one’s specific cultural form.<sup>1081</sup>

Pui-lan proposes a deeper exploration of what it would mean for national Anglican churches to become truly intercultural, by affirming their cultural contextuality.

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<sup>1076</sup> Percy, *39 New Articles*, 176.

<sup>1077</sup> Pui-lan, ‘The Legacy’, 47-70.

<sup>1078</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 53.

<sup>1079</sup> *Ibid.* 53-54.

<sup>1080</sup> *Ibid.* 56.

<sup>1081</sup> *Ibid.* 57.

Relational catholicity will take place when national mestizo churches act as mirrors to each other, in a space where all are regarded as equally valid and authentic, ‘without absolutizing’ one over the other. Pui-lan implicitly advocates a mestizo ecclesiology for global Anglicanism that is inclusive enough to contain a diversity of intercultural ecclesial expressions within one larger intercultural family of churches.

### ***9.2.3. Dialogue and mestizaje ecclesiology in Anglicanism***

A recurring theme in the above explorations of interculturalism and mestizaje is the centrality of the dialogical process. This is true of mestizaje ecclesiology too. As pointed out in previous chapters, it is also a central aspect of Anglican synodical life, at local, diocesan and national levels, and of the experience of relational catholicity, at a Communion-wide level.

One of the most explicit articulations of dialogical ecclesiology is found in the work of German Roman Catholic theologian Medard Kehl. In his classic manual of Catholic ecclesiology Kehl describes the process of human communication as a central dimension of communion.<sup>1082</sup> He follows Jürgen Habermas’ philosophical theory of communication to advocate a type of dialogical ecclesiology based on the ‘communicative action’. According to Kehl:

The communicative action takes place when the participants try to harmonize their plans and objectives, and to accomplish them on the basis of consensus, without pressure or coercive force, about their situation and the expected consequences of such action.<sup>1083</sup>

This type of communicative action can only take place if ‘the agents recognize each other mutually in their freedom, in their theoretical and moral convictions and in their interests

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<sup>1082</sup> Cf. Medard Kehl, *La Iglesia: Ecclesiología Católica* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1996), 119-144.

<sup>1083</sup> Ibid. 126-127. The Spanish translation reads: ‘La acción comunicativa se da cuando los participantes tratan de armonizar sus planes y objetivos, y de realizarlos sobre la base del consenso, surgido sin presión ni coacción, acerca de su situación y de las consecuencias que cabe esperar de la acción.’ Kehl cites here: H.J. Höhn, *Kirche und kommunikatives Handeln* (Knecht, 1985), 36.

as interlocutors with equal rights, and they are committed to such action.’<sup>1084</sup> In other words, if they recognize that ‘the other’ has something valuable to say.

There are certain expectations without which the communicative action in dialogical ecclesiology cannot take place: a commitment to truthfulness and veracity in communication, a commitment to communicate clearly and comprehensively, and a commitment to behave according to some basic norms (linguistic, respect, etc). According to Kehl, if these expectations are met, they achieve a ‘communicative unity’,<sup>1085</sup> albeit in a limited way.

Kehl applies this to Roman Catholic ecclesiology and describes the church as a ‘communicative unity of believers’<sup>1086</sup> and a dialogical community.<sup>1087</sup> Unity, in his view, involves a twofold consensus based on both the historic consensus with the apostolic tradition, and the present consensus with the current teaching of the church. For him, this type of consensus is not based on ‘the free agreement of the largest possible number of believers, but on the ability to root such agreement in the truth of God, announced to us in Christ Jesus.’<sup>1088</sup> This in turn is confirmed by the pneumatological action of the unifying Spirit of God. According to Kehl:

Neither aggressive polarization, nor violent oppression, nor fear-driven harmonization can lead to unity, but only the ‘culture of consensus seeking’ exercised by all parties. This culture is based on the sincere disposition to listening, on mutual receptivity, and on the willingness to seek unity along the line of unanimity.<sup>1089</sup>

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<sup>1084</sup> Ibid. 127. The Spanish translation reads: ‘los agentes se reconocen mutuamente en su libertad, en sus convicciones teóricas y morales y en sus intereses como interlocutores con igualdad de derechos, y se implican como tales en la acción.’

<sup>1085</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1086</sup> Ibid. 133. The Spanish translation reads: ‘unidad comunicativa de los creyentes’.

<sup>1087</sup> Cf. Ibid. 142.

<sup>1088</sup> Ibid. 133-134. The Spanish translation reads: ‘el libre acuerdo del mayor número posible de creyentes, sino en la posibilidad de retrotraer este acuerdo a la verdad de Dios que se nos anunció en Jesucristo.’

<sup>1089</sup> Ibid. 134. The Spanish translation reads: ‘Ni la polarización agresiva ni la opresión violenta ni la armonización medrosa pueden conducir a la unidad, sino únicamente la “cultura de la búsqueda de consenso” ejercitada por todas las partes. Esta cultura vive de la sincera disposición a la escucha y receptividad mutua y de la voluntad de buscar la unidad en la línea de la unanimidad.’

When these elements are not present, and the Church neglects its dialogical search for consensus, ‘the unity of the Church as a communion comes under grave threat.’<sup>1090</sup> In both Roman Catholic and Anglican traditions there is an agreement that the process needs to involve basic elements, such as the freedom of the parties to enter into conversation and express their views without coercion, the mutuality and equality of all members of the dialogical community, and the expectations that all will communicate with transparency, honesty and truthfulness. However, whereas Roman Catholic dialogical ecclesiology emphasizes doctrinal and moral consensus and unanimity as the goals of the communicative action,<sup>1091</sup> in Anglican praxis the process itself has more significance and value than the end result.

Despite the emphasis on the dialogical process as a means of *koinonia*, rather than consensus, Anglicans have, from time to time, sought to articulate basic forms of ecclesial consensus. Internationally, the Covenant has been the latest attempt to create a consensual statement of Anglican belief and identity. Prior to it, the Lambeth Conferences have played a key role in providing generally agreed guidelines for the Communion. Yet, up to date, the most widely embraced affirmation of Anglican doctrine is found in the succinct Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral.

Likewise, different theological traditions have sought to promote their particular versions of Anglicanism. In most cases, searching for consensus was qualified by a reference to *adiaphora*, and to the maxim: in essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity. In the first half of the twentieth century, the search for consensus was driven by liberal catholic Anglicans, with an emphasis on the social responsibility of the church.<sup>1092</sup> In the latter part of last century and the beginning of this one, the appeal to consensus, in the form of doctrinal uniformity, has been articulated particularly by conservative evangelicals, and to a lesser extent by traditionalist anglo-catholics. This became clear in the responses to the Anglican Covenant drafts explored in chapter 7.<sup>1093</sup>

The project of creating an Anglican consensus beyond the Quadrilateral, however, failed time and time again. Not because Anglicans refused to agree on basic doctrinal principles, but because it clashed with the reality of both cultural and theological

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<sup>1090</sup> Ibid. 136. The Spanish translation reads: ‘la unidad de la Iglesia como comunión corre grave peligro.’

<sup>1091</sup> Cf. Ibid. 133.

<sup>1092</sup> Cf. Sachs, *Transformation*, 283-293. He refers to this as ‘the illusion of the Anglican consensus.’

<sup>1093</sup> Cf. Chapter 7, section 7.3.

diversity. Consensus, understood as the absolutization of one particular theology or culture, goes against every bone of Anglican identity. It is the denial of Anglicanism's DNA. In the case of the most recent appeals to consensus, they have been constructed as attempts to win the battle that Puritans lost within the Church of England during the Elizabethan Settlement, and again later after Cromwell's Republic, to create a pure church, based on a particular Protestant ecclesiology that excluded many of the emphases Anglicans have historically cherished.<sup>1094</sup> This type of consensus, as pointed out in chapter 7, has been rejected by many of the respondents to the Covenant drafts. In Anglicanism, the opposite of a consensus-based ecclesiology is a mestizo ecclesiology, where relationship and communication are valued as sources of communion.

The Indaba conversations, as indicated in chapter 8, are a clear example of this type of dialogical ecclesiology in Anglicanism. The process, although only partially successful at the 2008 Lambeth Conference, incarnated a dialogical ecclesiology that, rather than consensus, sought to become a 'theology of reconciliation'.<sup>1095</sup> The main challenge Indaba has faced since 2008 has been the unwillingness of some to engage with the process. To some extent, the lack of engagement in a dialogical ecclesial praxis has revealed a *de facto* rejection of the mestizo ecclesiology that has shaped and continues to shape Anglicanism. Although at the time of writing the Indaba process continues in the Communion,<sup>1096</sup> its future, following the archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the primates, dated September 2015,<sup>1097</sup> is uncertain.

In addition to the Indaba process, Anglicans have used other conversational models. In Canada, indigenous Anglican communities have their national gatherings

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<sup>1094</sup> Cf. Alison Plowden, *In a free republic: life in Cromwell's England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2006); Blair Worden, *God's instruments: political conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford: OUP, 2013); Andrew Bradstock, *Radical religion in Cromwell's England: a concise history from the English Civil War to the end of the Commonwealth* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

<sup>1095</sup> Peter John Lee, 'Indaba as Obedience: A Post Lambeth 2008 Assessment 'If someone offends you, talk to him', *JAS* 7.2 (2009), 161. See also: Groves and Jones, *Living Reconciliation*.

<sup>1096</sup> According to Phil Groves, the Director of 'Continuing Indaba' at the Anglican Communion Office (London), the following provinces are engaged in some form of Indaba process (even if the term 'Indaba' is not actually used):, Aotearoa-New Zealand & Polynesia, Australia, Brazil, Burundi, Canada, Central Africa, Congo, England, Hong Kong, Ireland, Jamaica, Kenya, Melanesia, North India, Pakistan, Rwanda, Scotland, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, TEC, Wales, and West Africa. Nigeria and Uganda are not involved in the Indaba process. Email dated 19 October 2015. The Anglican Communion Office, in addition, has made available a wide range of resources, theological reflections and tools to facilitate the 'Continuing Indaba'. Further information in: <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/mission/reconciliation/continuing-indaba.aspx> Accessed 2 October 2015.

<sup>1097</sup> Cf. <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/5613/archbishop-of-canterbury-calls-for-primates-gathering> Accessed 6 October 2015.

following the model of ‘sacred circles’, every two to three years.<sup>1098</sup> These ‘sacred circles’ follow a conversational pattern that affirm the equal value of all participants, young and old, men and women, lay and ordained, as well as respect for the views of all interlocutors. In this sense, the circle embodies the sort of inclusive dialogical ecclesiology central to mestizaje Anglicanism.

Unfortunately, in practice, neither the dialogical attempts of the Instruments of Communion have been truly dialogical – in many cases they have been monological –, nor has the notion of a dialogical ecclesiology extended beyond these largely episcopocentric institutional gatherings. For Anglicanism to raise above its current monologic praxis, attention needs to be paid to the essential values of respect, freedom and reciprocity, inherent in dialogical and intercultural ecclesiologies.<sup>1099</sup> Likewise, new types of intra-Anglican gatherings need to be encouraged to foster relational catholicity in a manner that is consistent with the horizontal, synodical governance of the local churches. This is not an expanded version of the ACC, but rather something more like the 1963 international Anglican Congress. In other words, gatherings in which all Anglicans, lay and ordained, can participate in genuine mestizaje spaces through mutual listening, reflection and conversation, not dissimilar to the spirit with which the historic instruments of communion were created. These gatherings would both expose differences and celebrate diversity within the Anglican family. They would ideally be run more like Indaba conversations, or sacred circle gatherings.

#### ***9.2.4. Exclusion and inclusion in mestizaje ecclesiology***

Inclusion and exclusion, within mestizaje ecclesiology, operate at different levels. The starting point is always the inclusive dimension of mestizaje. The main drive of intercultural mestizaje is to include, rather than exclude, others. As an extension of this, mestizos consider themselves ‘un pueblo puente’ – a bridge people able to draw together and reconcile different groups.<sup>1100</sup> As shown above, Anglican mestizaje ecclesiology,

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<sup>1098</sup> Cf. <http://www.anglican.ca/im/sacredcircles/> Accessed 1 October 2015.

<sup>1099</sup> Cf. Philip Sheldrake, ‘A spirituality of reconciliation for the Anglican Communion’, in Martyn Percy and Robert B. Slocum (eds.), *A point of balance: the weight and measure of Anglicanism* (London: Canterbury Press, 2013), 51-66.

<sup>1100</sup> Cf. Rossing, ‘Mestizaje and Marginality’, 302; Justo L. González, ‘Hacia un redescubrimiento de nuestra misión’, *Apuntes 7* (1987), 53.

from Hooker to Maurice and beyond, expressed high ecumenical aspirations to act as a bridge church in Christendom. The main reason for this self-confidence was their self-perception as a mestizo church, able to understand, and therefore to relate well to both Catholic and Protestant parent cultures.

Exclusion, on the other hand, takes place in a number of ways. There is the exclusion experienced in the form of rejection *by* the parent cultures *of* the mestizo one. Then, there is the analogue response of exclusion of the mestizo, who mimics the behaviour of the parent cultures. In this case, mestizos tend to align their identity with the dominant parent culture in order to exclude the less dominant parent culture; more on this below. Finally, there is a type of inclusion-exclusion dynamic that takes place *within* the intercultural mestizo community itself, which responds to the questions: who is in and who is out, and how is this decided. This occurs often within the context of the dialogical processes described above.

This inclusion-exclusion dynamic in the church is nothing new. It has existed since the genesis of Christianity and has been the source of numerous schisms throughout history. It was also present in the life and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. For Elizondo, in line with his unique mestizaje exegesis of the gospel accounts:

Because Jesus introduces humanity to a new model of human existence that destroys the earthly basis of segregation, another kind of division will come out. Those who cannot accept a universal belonging and who insist on the maintenance of segregative barriers will not only refuse the invitation to join the new group, but will fight actively to discredit and oppose it.<sup>1101</sup>

Inclusion and exclusion are therefore central to the experience of human and ecclesial mestizaje. They are also connected with the dynamic of ‘rejection of the other’ in general, and the experience of being rejected by the various parent cultures in particular.<sup>1102</sup>

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<sup>1101</sup> Elizondo, *Galilean Journey*, 63-64.

<sup>1102</sup> Cf. section 9.1.1. This is also explored, from a Chicano, feminist, LGBT perspective, by US American poet and author Gloria Anzaldúa, within the context of crossroads and borderlands spaces, a metaphor for mestizo spaces in which inclusion and exclusion, sacrificial scapegoats and officiating priests, coexist alongside each other, and at times are one and the same person. Cf. Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The new mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987).



In Anglican formation, this dynamic played a key role during the Elizabethan Settlement. The sixteenth century Anglican *mestizaje* project was critiqued by both ecclesial parent cultures, the Roman Catholic and the mainstream Protestant one in Europe. The Church of England, which defined itself as both Catholic and Reformed, as seen in previous chapters, was not recognized as such by either parent culture. The way in which the English Church affirmed continuity and change set it at odds with both the Church of Rome and other Protestant churches in Europe. For the Catholics, Anglicans were introducing new categories to redefine their understanding of catholicity. For many magisterial Protestants, the English Reformation was only a ‘part boiled’ reformation, since it did not totally break with certain so-called ‘Popish practices’, such as the episcopacy or the use of liturgy.

In the political and religious climate of sixteenth century Europe, the most significant drive for excluding the mestizo *ecclesia anglicana* was not solely theology, but power, resulting from the tactic manoeuvres of political interest, as well as territorial and jurisdictional tensions. In most case, these were clothed in the language of polemic documents and theological apologetics. This twofold rejection was met with a similar response by the Church of England which, in turn, created a national church apologetic that exalted Anglicanism as a *via media* away from the extremes of both Catholic and Protestant parent cultures. In doing so, the English church’s claim was to include within itself the best elements of both parent cultures’ theologies and praxes.

The final and most unequivocal rejection of Anglicanism by Rome was expressed in the papal bull ‘*Apostolicae Curae*’ in 1896. In this statement, Leo XIII declared Anglican orders ‘absolutely null and utterly void’.<sup>1103</sup> The document did not affirm anything new. It based its conclusion on the change of sacramental theology and practice, including the rites for the ordination of priests, introduced under the reign of Edward VI, and reinstated under Elizabeth I in the sixteenth century. The Anglican responses to this document reflected the breadth of theological views within the Church of England.<sup>1104</sup> This controversy mirrored a similar one in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the non-conformist

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<sup>1103</sup> *Apostolicae Curae*, Pope Leo XIII, On the Nullity of Anglican Orders. September 15, 1896. In: [http://newadvent.org/library/docs\\_le13ac.htm](http://newadvent.org/library/docs_le13ac.htm) Accessed 30 September 2015.

<sup>1104</sup> Cf. *Saeptius Officio, Answer of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the Bull Apostolicae Curae of H. H. Leo XIII*, 19 February 1897; G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (London: Longman, 1909), 314–315; G.K.A. Bell, *Randall Davidson* (Oxford: OUP, 1935), Vol. 1, 232.

Anglican clergy who eventually embraced Presbyterianism in England. The 1662 Prayer Book ordination rites defined the role of the priest and bishop in an unequivocal manner, affirming a priestly theology that was fully rejected by the Presbyterian clergy.<sup>1105</sup>

Paradoxically, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the response of mestizo Anglicans to Lutheran orders had some uncomfortable echoes of the way Roman Catholics treated Anglican orders. Although the validity of Lutheran orders was never questioned in the Porvoo Agreement process, there was a clear recognition that some Lutheran churches did not always maintain the apostolic succession, as understood by the Church of England. Those churches committed to embrace the episcopate in the Anglican way, by the presence of Anglican bishops in their consecrations, from the signing of the document (1992) onwards.<sup>1106</sup>

Although the Porvoo decision was the result of theological consultation and doctrinal agreement, it is curious that it exemplifies the same type of attitude found in certain ethno-cultural mestizo groups toward the less dominant parent culture. Mario Morales illustrates this clearly, with reference to some mestizo groups in Guatemala. In his view:

[T]he Eurocentric and modern criollo cultural criteria became the cultural heritage of the mestizos who, in an illusory appropriation, also embraced the criollo ideals of ‘purity of blood’ and, by way of binary contradiction, made the Indians the counterpart of their ‘white’ anxieties in the very same way in which the criollos use mestizos and Indians alike as a reference to validate their supremacist differentiation, characterizing them as inferior. This is the dynamic of ethnocultural differentiation and racist hierarchy that has animated our conflictive intercultural life since colonial times.<sup>1107</sup>

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<sup>1105</sup> At the laying on of hands over the priest, the bishop, in addition to saying ‘Receive the Holy Ghost’, added ‘for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of his holy Sacraments; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.’ Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: The texts of 1549, 1559, 1662*. Oxford: OUP, 2011. 642.

<sup>1106</sup> “The Porvoo Common Statement”, Council for Christian Unity of the General Synod of the Church of England, London, 1993. See particularly sections D 53 and 54. The Lutheran Church of Norway was one of the churches who had to receive the apostolic succession through Anglican bishops.

<sup>1107</sup> Mario Roberto Morales, ‘Peripheral Modernity and Differential Mestizaje’, in Mabel Moraña, et al. (eds.), *Coloniality At Large* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 492.

Anglican mestizos, therefore, do not just share with other cultural mestizos the experience of ‘being rejected’ by their parent cultures. They also share the experience of ‘reacting against’ those rejections, by articulating a new mestizo identity; and of ‘appropriating’ somewhat exclusive or supremacist attitudes present in the dominant parent culture, as shown to some extent in their response to Lutheran churches.

By virtue of being an intercultural third space, Anglican mestizaje ecclesiology too is caught up in ‘an inescapable interweaving of inclusion and exclusion in processes of mixture.’<sup>1108</sup> For Wade, mestizaje ‘always involves both processes and one cannot be separated from the other.’<sup>1109</sup> Reflecting on the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in Latin American ethno-cultural mestizaje, Wade admits that:

[M]estizaje is a space of struggle and contest. It is not a reason for automatic optimism or for Latin Americans to feel benevolent about their societies simply because mestizaje can have inclusive effects. It is a site of struggle to see what and who is going to be included and excluded, and in what way; to see to what extent existing value hierarchies can be disrupted.<sup>1110</sup>

Nowhere is this site of struggle more visible in contemporary Anglicanism, than in the dialogical processes that have taken place at all levels in the Communion in recent decades. When the dialogical process is taken seriously, mestizaje ecclesiology has the potential of becoming a truly inclusive third space where diversity can flourish unashamedly, and *koinonia* be experienced relationally. However, as noted above, when the conversational praxis fails, it can become an exclusive space. In most cases, this will be the result of the self-exclusion of those who are unable to recognize the value or legitimacy of fellow interlocutors, as in Kehl’s analysis. It is also the result of exclusive attitudes, such as a presumption of one’s own superiority, a negative judgment of the other, a lack of humility, being out of touch with present day realities, defensiveness and

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<sup>1108</sup> Wade, ‘Rethinking Mestizaje’, 256.

<sup>1109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1110</sup> Ibid. 255.

a lack of appreciation of what is good in the modern world.<sup>1111</sup> For Mannion, this form of exclusivism is a ‘transdenominational reality’.<sup>1112</sup>

The dialogical processes in Anglicanism seek the strengthening of inclusive *koinonia*, rather than the exclusive articulation of a confessional consensus. In other words, to the question of ‘who is in/out’, the answer is, ‘everyone is in, until they decide they wish to move out, because they are unable to accept the intrinsic value of the diversity within this mestizo space.’ This is not decided, normally, by the mestizo community, but by those within the community who seek to erase its intercultural diversity, and with it, the mestizo identity of the church.

At times, however, it would be appropriate for the mestizo community as a whole to actively exclude those whose views are incompatible with certain fundamental Christian values. In such instances, a possible line of inclusion-exclusion may be drawn around the Christian understanding of the dignity of every human being. That is, as highlighted by Pernigotto, on a Christian anthropology that affirms the dignity and equality of every human being as created in the image of God.<sup>1113</sup> Interestingly, this theological notion is echoed in a secular context by the United Nations definition of universal human rights.<sup>1114</sup>

Finally, the dynamics of inclusion-exclusion in mestizaje ecclesiology are deeply connected with mestizaje’s subversive capacity to unsettle ‘hierarchies, orthodoxies and

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<sup>1111</sup> These are highlighted by Mannion as the mindset underlining most forms of exclusivism. Cf. Doyle, *Ecclesiology and Exclusion*, 8-9. See also: Andrew Atherstone and Andrew Goddard (eds.), *Good Disagreement? Grace and truth in a divided church* (Oxford: Lion Books, 2015). In this collection of essays the authors, writing from an anglo-evangelical tradition, wrestle with the notion of ‘good disagreement’ in the context of a dialogical ecclesiology. Whilst the tone of some of the essays may be described as a ‘soft’ or ‘kind’ evangelical response, the substance remains a classic conservative rhetoric in which words such as ‘truth’, ‘false teaching’, ‘error’, ‘discipline’, ‘repentance’ and ‘exclusion’ are ultimately more important than ‘grace’ and ‘inclusion’. The limits of inclusion/exclusion here are pre-empted by the editors in the initial distinction made between issues of ‘doctrine’, ‘ethics’ and ‘ecclesiastical order’ (18-19). By giving a greater weight to the first two, by implication church order becomes the *de facto* sole source of possible ‘good disagreement.’ For contrasting arguments see: Percy and Slocum, *A Point of Balance*. This collection of essays advocates a dialogical ecclesiology of a more inclusive nature in areas as diverse as biblical theology, ecumenical relations and Christian spirituality.

<sup>1112</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>1113</sup> Cf. Pernigotto, ‘The Church’, 49. For further reading on this topic see: Thomas Albert Howard (ed.), *Imago Dei: Human Dignity in Ecumenical Perspective* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013); and Dominic Robinson, *Understanding the ‘Imago Dei’: the thought of Barth, Von Balthasar and Molmann* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>1114</sup> In a 2010 speech on LGBT issues, the UN General Secretary, Ban Ki-Moon, affirmed: ‘let there be no confusion: where there is tension between cultural attitudes and universal human rights, universal human rights must carry the day.’ Cf. <http://www.un.org/press/en/2010/sgsm13311.doc.htm> Accessed 5 October 2015.

purities, creating a “third space” outside binary oppositions.’<sup>1115</sup> Anglican mestizaje, at its best, is able to embody a subversive hybridity that rejects ecclesio-theological ‘purity’ in favour of theological provisionality; that rejects homogeneity and uniformity in favour of difference and diversity; that rejects exclusive monologue in favour of inclusive dialogue; and that unsettles the authority of institutional structures in order to affirm the value of human relationships (relational catholicity) and of local contexts (cultural contextuality). As shown in previous chapters, some of these emphases are explicitly and implicitly made in many of the articulations of Anglican identity resulting from the Covenant redaction process. They are also defended by Anglican and other Christian ecclesiologists in the West.

### **9.3. Anglican mestizaje: historical precedents and contemporary applications**

#### ***9.3.1. Rearticulating Hooker’s conversational hermeneutics as theological mestizaje***

There is no doubt that Hooker’s conversational hermeneutics contain many of the ingredients of a theology of mestizaje. According to British church historian Euan Cameron:

[T]he ‘Anglican’ hybrid of high reformed doctrine, mixed liturgy, and traditional structure began to win devoted supporters. The *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, published in 1594-7 by Richard Hooker (c.1554-1600) offered the most famous and thorough defence of the hybrid.<sup>1116</sup>

Hooker’s hermeneutical paradigm, first of all, affirmed the intercultural complementarity of catholic and reformed elements, as well as the need for continuity and change. In his ecclesiology, as in every mestizaje, binary notions defined in the form of ‘either-or’ disappeared, and a new ecclesio-cultural subject emerged, with a new ‘both-and’ identity. Secondly, it served to articulate a hybrid ecclesiology based on a mixed hermeneutical paradigm, resulting from the conversation between Scripture, reason and tradition. In this

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<sup>1115</sup> Wade, ‘Rethinking Mestizaje’, 242-243.

<sup>1116</sup> Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 395.

respect, his mestizo paradigm included the protestant emphasis on the Bible, the catholic emphasis on tradition, and the renaissance humanist emphasis on human reason. This theological conversation was not exhausted by these epistemological agents, but was inclusive of others, such as ‘common sense’, ‘experience’, ‘testimonies’ and ‘human skills’.<sup>1117</sup> Thirdly, it affirmed the importance of theological generosity and humility in the dialogical process with his opponents.<sup>1118</sup> In this respect Hooker was able to assert the widest possible lines of inclusion-exclusion, whereby only apostasy – i.e. the denial of the entire Christian faith – was able to exclude someone from the visible church.<sup>1119</sup> Fourthly, connected with the last point, it recognized the importance of adiaphora-based-diversity, as a reality both within the Church of England and the wider church.<sup>1120</sup> In the *ecclesia anglicana* this diversity coexisted in one mestizo ecclesial space, contained within the framework of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. Whereas in the ecumenical context, unity in diversity was an aspirational notion.

In recent decades, Hooker’s conversational hermeneutics has been expanded to include different types of human experience (female, LGBT, postcolonial, indigenous, etc). Pui-lan, writing from a postcolonial feminist perspective, admits that:

[T]he contents of these four categories – Bible, tradition, reason and experience – have been defined in the past through the lens of Western culture alone. Today, they must be subject to a postcolonial scrutiny and amplified by the cultural resources from many parts of the Communion. For example, postcolonial interpretation of the Bible helps us to lift up neglected voices in the Bible and pay attention to the racial and cultural politics in biblical times. Furthermore, “tradition” must not be a code term for the tradition of the Church of England, but must include the various traditions in the Communion formed by interaction of the Anglican church with local cultures. In order to become a hope for the future, the Anglican Communion must value different styles of reasoning and configurations of human experiences.<sup>1121</sup>

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<sup>1117</sup> Cf. LEP, II.142.

<sup>1118</sup> Cf. LEP, IV.231.

<sup>1119</sup> Cf. LEP, V. 396.

<sup>1120</sup> Cf. LEP, I.121; III. 209-10.

<sup>1121</sup> Pui-lan, ‘The Legacy’, 65.

The Chinese theologian appeals here to a contemporary rearticulation of Hooker's hermeneutical paradigm with a strong emphasis on culture and on the inclusion of minority groups' reasoning and experiential contributions. She advocates an Anglican mestizaje rooted on Communion-wide interculturality. A hybrid Anglicanism in which *all*, including subaltern groups, especially subaltern communities, have a voice that is heard with the same respect and dignity.<sup>1122</sup> Likewise, she defends a dialogical ecclesiology that is 'seasoned with humility, and sustained by compassion and empathy for oneself and others.'<sup>1123</sup>

Examples of Pui-lan's articulation of Hooker's method include indigenous, feminist and LGBT attempts to engage with Scripture, tradition and reason, through the lens of their unique contexts and experiences. Although in some cases this has led to confrontation with more conservative agendas, on the whole they have sought to create inclusive mestizo spaces, inspired, for example, by the image of God's rainbow people.<sup>1124</sup>

### ***9.3.2. Reimagining Maurice's ecclesiological synthesis: toward an Anglican mestizo synthesis***

F.D. Maurice, as shown in chapter 4, was one of the most significant articulators of the Anglican synthesis. For him, this synthesis does not consist in the amalgamation of the three schools of theology of his day, namely, anglo-catholic, evangelical and liberal. Maurice is critical of each school as an exclusive system that denies the validity of the other. Nor does he advocate a *via media* between these systems, as a way to reconcile conflicting diversity. Instead, he advocates a mestizo ecclesiology that seeks the blending of the essence or theological DNA of each school or system. His vision for the United Church of England and Ireland of his day and, by extension, for other Anglican churches, was of an ecclesiological *via unitiva*, a unitive way inclusive of catholic diversity and reformed contextuality. The result is a mestizo church that reflects the essential elements of its parent theological cultures, and points to the kingdom of the mestizo *par*

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<sup>1122</sup> Cf. Ibid. 54.

<sup>1123</sup> Ibid. 66.

<sup>1124</sup> Cf. Te Paa, 'Forth Guessing the Spirit', 128.

*excellence*, Christ himself. A mestizo church, in addition, which holds together its protestant-national and its catholic-universal dimensions. As Vidler points out, ‘no one will be able to understand Maurice nor, what is more important, the English Church and the Anglican Communion, who supposes that the Catholic Church and National Churches are incompatible.’<sup>1125</sup> Cultural contextuality and relational catholicity are the two inseparable, complementary sides of a single ecclesiological coin.

Although Maurice never used the term ‘mestizo’, his synthesis contained strong elements of theological and cultural mestizaje. It favoured the unity of seemingly opposed theological principles in one new, hybrid, ecclesial space. Indeed, for him that space was not new. It had existed in England, at least, since the Elizabethan Settlement, within the boundaries of the national church. Yet, by the nineteenth century it had become a fractured space, far removed from the original vision of the *ecclesia anglicana*. Maurice, however, remained optimistic and pointed to the foundational document that, for him, embodied the mestizo character of Anglicanism: the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion. Toward the latter part of his life, he wrote,

[T]he Thirty-Nine Articles do exhibit, to anyone who reads them [...] a union of Catholicism with Protestantism. I need not spend any time on that point: it is the ground of all charges against them that they are neither honestly Roman or [sic] honestly Genevan, but a mere compromise. I discover in them no hint of compromise; on the contrary, a strong spirit of assertion; a belief that Protestantism is necessary to Catholicism; the assumption that without individuality and nationality there can be no unity, no universality; that Catholicism trampling on individuality and nationality (i.e. becoming Romanism) ceases to be Catholic.<sup>1126</sup>

The starting point of his essentialist synthesis was the divisions between the different factions of the nineteenth century Church of England. His proposal to combat internal sectarianism was a novel method which, as noted in chapter 4, became instrumental in later ecumenical dialogue. It was a three-staged method that began with a positive

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<sup>1125</sup> Vidler, *F.D. Maurice*, 215.

<sup>1126</sup> THE SPECTATOR, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. 2 April 1870. Page 14. In digital archive: <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/2nd-april-1870/14/letters-to-the-editor> Accessed 9 November 2015.



description of each ecclesial tradition, followed by a critique of their key weaknesses, ending with the distillation of the essence of each system. Once the essence was distilled, a synthesis was proposed showing the interdependence and complementarity of all the essential principles.<sup>1127</sup> His Anglican synthesis, therefore, incarnated the *mestizaje* of all the essential theological emphases of each ecclesial school: anglo-catholic, evangelical and liberal. It also affirmed, as seen above, the continuity with the English Reformation understanding of catholicity and nationality. As an articulation of Anglican identity, his synthesis reflected the richness that ‘lies in the fact that birth out of two great traditions allows for the choice of the best in both in the forging of a new existence, a new creation.’<sup>1128</sup>

Maurice’s method and synthesis had a limited success in the following generations. The *mestizaje* ecclesiology he advocated was only partially fulfilled through the emphasis on Anglican comprehensiveness, particularly by liberal-catholic theologians. Yet, neither conservative evangelicals, nor traditionalist anglo-catholics were able to commune with this vision. Their response remained one of antagonistic rejection, fuelled by a theology of suspicion of the other. In a sense, this exclusivist response reflected, in a small scale, the rejection that Elizabethan Anglicans experienced from both Roman Catholics and other European Protestants. So, if Maurice’s method and synthesis did not succeed in the nineteenth century, does it have anything to offer to the 21<sup>st</sup> century Anglican Communion? I believe the answer to this question is yes.

As in Hooker, central to Maurice’s method was the notion of theological humility. Much of the crisis in contemporary Anglicanism has its roots in an exclusivist theological arrogance that both fears and demonizes the other simultaneously. Maurice’s method, in addition, rests not on superficial theological consensus, be it doctrinal or ethical or both, but on a deep recognition of the complementarity and unity of all those elements in each tradition that lead to human flourishing. Or, as he would prefer to phrase it, that are signs

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<sup>1127</sup> Maurice’s methodology mirrors, strikingly, the way in which *mestizaje* identity is constructed by ethnic and cultural *mestizos*. According to Anzaldúa: ‘Her first step is to take inventory. *Despojando, desgranando, quitando paja*. Just what did she inherit from her ancestors? This weight on her back – which is the baggage from the Indian mother, which the baggage from the Spanish father, which the baggage from the Anglo? *Pero es difícil* differentiating between *lo heredado, lo adquirido, lo impuesto*. She puts history through a sieve, winnows out the lies, looks at the forces that we as a race, as women, have been a part of. *Luego bota lo que no vale, los desmientos, los desencuentos, el embrutecimiento. Aguarda el juicio, hondo y enraizado, de la gente antigua.*’ Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*, 82.

<sup>1128</sup> Elizondo, *Galilean Journey*, 23.

of the kingdom of Christ. In the context of the Anglican Communion today, this requires a major exercise of national and global interculturality. It involves a careful listening to the other, and an honest openness to be changed in the process. It does not mean the extermination of particular traditions – catholic, evangelical, liberal, emergent, or other – but their inner transformation as they recognize genuine elements of cultural contextuality and relational catholicity in the others. The synthesis, ecclesologically, is not embodied necessarily in a single tradition or an individual local church, but in the broader space of mestizaje that makes those expressions fruitful and possible.

#### 9.4. Conclusions

Anglican mestizaje ecclesiology as a theo-cultural hybrid is both a latent reality, and a theological aspiration. As a reality, some have accused its hybridity of being the source of Anglicanism's 'identity crisis'.<sup>1129</sup> Indeed, it seems true that mestizaje is both Anglicanism's greatest strength and deepest threat. The answer to the threat, however, should not be to become something different, or to give in to the pressures – even coercion – of exclusive partisan ecclesiologies. Instead, it should be addressed and minimized through education, conversation, and greater, more regular, more meaningful interaction. In other words, as pointed out in this chapter, through fomenting open and honest dialogical processes, through affirming local attempts of cultural contextuality, and through investing in intercultural exchanges as a means to express relational catholicity.

In this chapter I have sought to affirm Anglican mestizaje ecclesiology as a space of dynamic diversity, with multiple points of contact, contrast and confluences.<sup>1130</sup> I have acknowledged the difficulties and limitations of this model, as well as the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion connected with it. And I have critiqued and challenged certain modes of thinking about Anglicanism that deny the key elements of mestizaje: respectful

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<sup>1129</sup> McMichael, *The Vocation*, xi.

<sup>1130</sup> Cf. Josef Raab and Martin Butler (eds.), *Hybrid Americas: Contacts, Contrasts, and Confluences in New World Literatures and Cultures (Inter-American Perspectives/ Perspectivas Interamericanas 2)* (Münster: LIT and Tempe, AZ: Bilingual Press, 2008), 17.

dialogical processes, the recognition of the value of the other, and the affirmation of intercultural diversity, equality, reciprocity and theological humility.<sup>1131</sup>

Finally, I have sought to establish the notion of Anglican mestizaje on both its historic hybrid ecclesio-theological synthesis, and its intercultural experience. In doing so I have shown that mestizaje ecclesiology is not a novel concept in Anglicanism, but a new language to express inherited theology and contemporary ecclesial praxis. In this respect, mestizaje is present as much in Hooker and Maurice as in Douglas, Pui-lan, Percy or Chapman. Likewise, it is articulated as much in the early Lambeth resolutions as in the recent responses to the Anglican Covenant.

The implications and opportunities emerging from this type of mestizaje ecclesiology for the future of Anglicanism are significant. Some of these will be raised and addressed in chapter 10. Suffice it to say at this stage, and in conclusion, that mestizaje has the potential to become a new narrative to define an already-existing space, that is in need of greater clarity as to where the lines of inclusion and exclusion are. It also has the potential to become a new source of confidence for Anglicans from diverse theological and cultural backgrounds, to live with theological and contextual integrity, whilst remaining faithful to being in relational and sacramental communion with other Anglicans around the world.

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<sup>1131</sup> Most of these elements are present in the contemporary articulations of interculturality and mestizaje explored in this chapter. Cf. Boucher & Taylor, 'Building the Future', 118; 'Enfoque Intercultural', 20; 'Defining Multicultural', 2.

## Chapter 10: Conclusions

### 10.1. The thesis of the thesis

The starting point of this thesis was the context of the recent events in the Anglican Communion that led to the crisis over issues of human sexuality. I have not devoted much attention to the issue itself, since I agree with Jenny Te Paa, Ian Douglas and Michael Klarman, among others, that it is a presenting issue that highlights a number of underlying issues, including theology, culture *and* power.<sup>1132</sup> Instead, I have sought to focus on the way in which out of this crisis, Anglicans have found new ways to articulate their ecclesial identity from a diversity of local and national contexts.

This research study has attempted to answer the question of ‘what does it mean to be Anglican in the aftermath of this crisis’. In other words, is there an Anglican identity that can still be articulated and shared by most self-professed Anglicans, and if so, what does it look like? In order to do so, I have focused on the development of Anglican identity from its genesis in the English Reformation, until the present time. The *a priori* overambitious nature of this research is qualified by restricting the scope of the study to a limited number of influential theologians and significant official documents. I have paid special attention to the Anglican Covenant (2009) and, in particular, to the process of redaction of the Covenant and the official responses to the various Covenant drafts (2007-2009). The latter, I have shown, constitutes one of the most creative attempts by national churches to articulate their vision of Anglican identity from within their own cultural contexts. The comparative analysis of these documents, as part of this investigation, is likewise one of the most significant original contributions of this thesis.

As an interdisciplinary study I have drawn primarily from historical sources, sociology, and contemporary approaches to ecclesiology from different Christian traditions. The method, with descriptive, reflective and analytical elements, has placed an emphasis on praxis ecclesiology, developmental historiography and sociological analysis.

This thesis contains three distinct parts that have acted as building blocks. The first focused on the development of Anglican identity in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, with

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<sup>1132</sup> Cf. Te Paa, ‘Fourth Guessing’; Douglas, ‘The Exigency’; Michael J. Klarman, *From the closet to the altar: courts, backlash, and the struggle for same-sex marriage* (Oxford: OUP, 2013).

reference to Richard Hooker and F.D. Maurice. The second explored contemporary Anglican identity based on the official documents connected with the Covenant. And the third analyzed the role of culture in the articulation of Anglican identity, from the perspectives of sociology and cultural studies, putting forward an ecclesiological framework based on the notion of ecclesio-theological and cultural mestizaje.

The evidence accumulated throughout this research confirms the thesis that contemporary Anglican identity may be usefully described as an ecclesiology of mestizaje, where cultural contextuality and relational catholicity act as complementary dimensions that affirm cultural and theological diversity, within the context of dialogical ecclesial processes. In this conclusion, in addition to offering a synthesis of the key findings of this research, I seek to address some of the main theoretical and practical implications of the thesis, as well as recommendations for the future direction of further research.

## **10.2 Key research findings**

The evidence drawn from the historical, theological and sociological analysis of the sources and data in this investigation has revealed a number of significant findings:

1. That Hooker's hermeneutical paradigm, and Maurice's essentialist Anglican synthesis were expressions of a fundamentally mestizo ecclesiology. That is, a complex and creative hybrid of catholic *and* reformed elements that recognized the underlying value of diverse traditions and theological emphases as complementary, rather than exclusive, of each other. This, albeit with different stresses, has remained unchanged as a central ecclesio-theological dimension of Anglican self-understanding. In addition, for both Hooker and Maurice, theological humility played a crucial role in their own attempts to engage with theological adversaries. This was, for them, a key aspect of dialogical ecclesiology. Humility, however, was more than a pseudo-paternalistic attitude based on a particular understanding of 'grace'. Instead, it was a fundamental recognition of human fallibility, even one's own personal fallibility, and of the intrinsic value and integrity of the other. The latter point is mostly implicit, rather than explicit in their works.

2. That the reappraisal of Anglican Communion membership numbers, based on this research and published in ‘North to South’,<sup>1133</sup> has challenged both pre-existing putative membership figures and the current rhetoric on global growth/decline. Despite the many limitations of this research, to the date of submission of this thesis, it remains the most comprehensive and up-to-date attempt to engage with the complexity of Anglican Communion membership, and its implications in the current situation.

3. That the analysis of the responses to the Covenant drafts in chapters 6 and 7 has exposed both convergences and divergences in Anglican self-understanding. This section of the thesis constitutes one of the most significant original elements of this investigation. It has revealed a wide range of identity emphases within the Communion, and that within such diversity there are common elements affirmed by a large majority of Anglicans. For instance, most Anglicans see their Communion as a family of national churches, professing the apostolic, Trinitarian faith of the early church, heirs both of Western Catholic spirituality and of the Reformation tradition. They have a particular understanding of authority that affirms synodality and provincial autonomy; an affirmation of the centrality of the *missio Dei* both locally and globally; and an appeal to the Anglican ecumenical vocation. In addition, they agree on the four markers of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral: Scripture, creeds, sacraments and episcopacy. They share a liturgical tradition and a particular stress on corporate worship (*lex orandi*). And they recognize a certain degree of provisionality in ecclesiology and theology.

This part of the research has also revealed significant differences and theological nuances. For example, primatial and episcopal ministry, within the synodical nature of the church, is understood and exercised in different ways across the Communion. There is also disagreement on Hooker’s conversational hermeneutics, between those who affirm the importance of the conversation between Scripture, reason and tradition in the theological process, and those for whom the *sola scriptura* is the overriding principle. Likewise, when it comes to the Quadrilateral, some consider it to be foundational and sufficient as a statement of Anglican identity; others believe that it is not enough, and more needs to be said.

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<sup>1133</sup> Cf. Muñoz, ‘North to South’.

4. That cultural dynamics and clashes in the Communion are wide ranging, complex and multi-layered. My original instinct, based on an initial analysis of the data, was that a key source of the Anglican tensions was the clash between two competing cultural paradigms: postmodernism and postcolonialism. The investigation carried out as part of this doctoral programme in New Zealand, revealed that in certain instances postmodern and postcolonial cultures can coexist in reasonable harmony. In fact, it showed that certain postcolonial discourses, such as the indigenous Maori one in Aotearoa New Zealand, make use of postmodern categories to articulate their Anglican identity. This finding pointed me in a new direction, which acknowledged the cultural clashes as occurring primarily in liminal spaces. In other words, as the result of tensions within two cultural transition zones: from modernity to postmodernity and from modern-postcolonial to postmodern-postcolonial.

5. That the notions of cultural contextuality and relational catholicity, though central to Anglican identity, have not been fully embraced or sufficiently affirmed in the Covenant process. In the final document, a particular understanding of catholicity takes a certain preeminence over contextuality, placing the global over the local. Likewise, I showed that the Anglican understanding and experience of catholicity is fundamentally relational and dialogical. Furthermore, any attempts to exclude others from these relational and dialogical processes, as suggested by some in the recent crisis, undermine the fundamental catholicity of the Communion.

6. That based on the accumulated evidence Anglican identity may be confidently described as an ecclesiology of mestizaje. That is, a hybrid space of dynamic diversity, with multiple points of contact, contrast and confluences. I acknowledged the difficulties and limitations of this model, as well as the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion connected with it. I critiqued and challenged certain modes of thinking of Anglicanism that deny the key elements of mestizaje, namely, respectful dialogical processes, the recognition of the value of the other, and the affirmation of intercultural diversity, equality, reciprocity and theological humility. I established the notion of Anglican mestizaje on both its historical hybrid ecclesio-theological synthesis, and its current intercultural experience. In doing so I showed that mestizaje ecclesiology is not a novel

concept in Anglicanism, but a new language to express inherited theology and contemporary ecclesial praxis.

### 10.3. Conclusion: Is the future mestizo?

As noted in chapter 9, historically, theologically, and sociologically, *monoculturalism* is alien to Anglican ecclesiology. Despite this fact, some Anglicans insist in promoting a confessional uniformity that ignores the historical development of Anglican identity and its present day diversity. *Multiculturalism*, as a way to include others, has also presented problems with the ghettoization of individual cultural groups. The future, as Elizondo suggests, is therefore *mestizo*.<sup>1134</sup> In other words, it has to be able to move beyond multiculturalism to interculturality. In the case of Anglicanism, this includes articulating afresh historic expressions of mestizaje ecclesiology, such as Hooker's and Maurice's, and creating new narratives that describe both Anglican identity and aspirations.

Mestizaje acts both as a higher synthesis that affirms the value of diverse ecclesio-theological traditions,<sup>1135</sup> and as a lower synthesis that seeks to place Anglican experience in the here-and-now, in reality, with its feet firmly rooted in the (holy) ground of interculturality. This affirms the reality of Anglican cultural diversity as a mestizo community that includes and celebrates the life of every part of the body. The mestizo body defines its identity through koinonia, and seeks not a fusion of all things into one (another form of monocultural assimilation), but the celebration of alterity and the affirmation of diversity-in-relationship. Thus, the more the diverse parts of the community engage with each other, the more possible it is for a lower synthesis to emerge. This has been seen, in England, in some of the non-partisan theological formation given through diocesan training schemes, where ordinands train alongside women and men of all ecclesial and theological traditions.<sup>1136</sup> The anecdotal evidence shown by this type of training suggests that many of these seminarians reach their

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<sup>1134</sup> For Elizondo: 'in the context of the increasingly violent ethnic-racial and religious wars of the present moment, mestizaje appears as the only way of piercing through the impenetrable walls of distrust and hatred of others'. Elizondo, *Future is Mestizo*, 113.

<sup>1135</sup> Cf. De Mendieta, *Anglican Vision*, 108.

<sup>1136</sup> A good example is the Southern Education Training and Education Scheme (STETS), which since 2015 has its headquarters at Sarum College, Salisbury. See: <http://www.sarum.ac.uk/ministry-training> Accessed 6 October 2015.



ordination with a deeper awareness of the traditions of others, as well as a recognition of the value of each tradition within the life of the whole.

Whereas the signs of mestizaje are real in Anglicanism, these are not equally shared by all Anglicans. In other words, not all Anglicanism is mestizo. Those on the two extremes of the Anglican spectrum, conservative evangelicals and traditionalist anglo-catholics, advocate theological positions that do not sit comfortably within a theologically intercultural space. A good example of this may be drawn from the local experience of many Anglicans in English deaneries and dioceses. In these contexts, cultural and theological diversity is at its best tolerated, and at its worst regarded with mutual suspicion. This appears to reflect a multicultural, rather than intercultural, reality. A question arises: how can clusters of local Anglican leaders and communities move beyond a polite toleration of the other, to deeper relationships that recognize the value and integrity of each other? Or put differently, how can deaneries and dioceses, as expressions of the local church, become true mestizo spaces of generous inclusion, honest dialogue, mutual affirmation and human flourishing?

In the case of the worldwide Anglican Communion the above challenges are magnified exponentially. How can a diverse ecclesial family, representing such a wide range of cultural contexts and theological traditions, stay together within the same shared space? How may specific Instruments of Communion become mestizo spaces that truly reflect and honour Anglican diversity? How may these spaces become less episcopocentric and more inclusive, representing lay people, theologians and clergy, as well as a diversity of personal backgrounds? How may these instruments embody in themselves an authentic dialogical ecclesiology that has no room for power-driven agendas, coercion, exclusion or theological blackmail? All these questions deserve further exploration and new, creative, honest answers.

In January of 2016, the Anglican Primates will meet in London to discuss, among other things, a way forward for the Communion, which may include revisiting the Instruments of Communion. It will be interesting to see whether significant changes emerge from this encounter, and if so, what ecclesial model is proposed. Whether the Communion will move in a direction of decentralization, with less or even different structures that affirm the fundamental principles of cultural contextuality and relational catholicity. Or whether it will seek to redefine the existing structures and institutional

relationships in order to create new spaces for communion and new ways to relate to one another. It will also be fascinating to see how many are able to embrace any of the potential new changes, if they in fact occur, and how many – if any – decide they are in conscience unable to remain part of this global family. In any case, substantial changes and reform of the Communion should be agreed by all Instruments of Communion, not just the Primates, and ideally they should be developed by whatever new body/bodies emerge from this process.

The key challenge and question remains: how can this global family of national churches affirm their historic and present mestizo identity in new ways? The possibilities are manifold. From encouraging new types of global gatherings, such as International Anglican Conventions, with inclusive representation of lay and ordained from a diversity of contexts and backgrounds, to promoting and resourcing the creation of new Anglican networks. Some of these networks are already active and have developed organically, rather than institutionally. There may be opportunities to reignite diocesan partnership programmes and encourage new parish and diocesan companions. In addition, there may be moves to invest more intentionally in theological education exchange programmes. Something like an Anglican-Erasmus global programme, where seminarians and theological students are sponsored to spend a term or a year (maybe more) at a seminary or theological institution overseas. The Anglican Communion, whatever shape or form emerges from future developments, should be able to affirm, support and resource both existing relational initiatives, and new initiatives that may emerge in less structured, more organic ways. All of the above examples highlight the implicit recognition of a mestizaje that is both ‘already and not yet’, real yet aspirational.

In this vision of Anglican identity, mestizaje values, such as diversity, interdependence and respectful dialogue are non-negotiable. Indeed, these become to a great extent the lines of inclusion and exclusion for the mestizo ecclesial community. As such, mestizaje needs to be able to include the diversity of postmodern and postcolonial narratives, of Western and Southern experiences, of male and female voices, and especially the voices of those in the margins, including those of Indigenous and LGBT Anglicans.

Ethnic mestizaje, as pointed out in chapter 9, has the potential to act as a ‘liberating force that breaks open colonial and neo-colonial categories of ethnicity and

race'.<sup>1137</sup> In Anglicanism, many of the recent behaviours have echoes of neocolonial attitudes where theological and cultural categories have been used to exclude the other. Anglican mestizaje should act as a force that helps Anglicans transcend old ways of relating (or not relating) to the other, that affirms the freedom, dignity and integrity of all, and that draws the boundaries of inclusion not on doctrinal (or even ethical) consensus, but on the ability to dialogue with one another and on a spiritual koinonia, with each other and with Christ, that transcends human fallibility and partiality. In this respect, despite containing elements of exclusion, intercultural mestizaje seems to be the most inclusive space, in as much as it is able to include those who seek to exclude others.

Finally, there are significant areas in which mestizaje needs further exploration in Anglican theology and ecclesiology, and as a contribution to ongoing ecumenical dialogue. Theologically, there should be further explorations of the connections between mestizaje and the doctrine of the Incarnation, so central to Anglican narrative and theology. Although this is discussed by Elizondo in *The Galilean Journey*, from a Mexican-American perspective, it would be useful to have other articulations from Indigenous, postcolonial and postmodern contexts.

Ecclesialogically, it would be valuable to explore in more depth the connections between 'communion' and mestizaje ecclesiology. It seems to me that the Anglican understanding of communion, articulated in recent decades particularly through official documents, born out of controversial events, needs to be rearticulated in the light of praxis ecclesiology. This will require, among other lines of research, ethnographic work, at local and congregational levels, which will seek to analyze, understand and catalogue the diverse expressions of dialogical ecclesiology in different parts of the Communion. This is a field of research I am particularly interested in pursuing in the future.

Lastly, liturgically there is still room for further exploration of the implications of mestizaje ecclesiology for liturgical renewal, particularly in the context of mission. Given the centrality of the *lex orandi* in the Anglican tradition, this seems to be an obvious place to start, since local expressions of mestizo liturgies may serve to both bring depth to the worship experience of the local community, and connect in creative missional ways with those outside.

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<sup>1137</sup> Mallon, 'Constructing Mestizaje in Latin America', 171.

To conclude, this thesis has attempted to give voice to multiple articulations of Anglican identity from different periods of history and different parts of the Communion. Those who, like Hooker or Maurice, sought in the past to articulate a vision of Anglicanism that could contain the diversity of their church, advocated in different ways intercultural, inter-ecclesiological and inter-theological spaces.<sup>1138</sup> One of the most significant findings of this research, based on the demographic investigation in chapter 5, is that the majority of practicing Anglicans today continue to believe in a church where theological and cultural diversity is celebrated, and where dialogical ecclesiology is affirmed. In other words, in a mestizo Anglicanism able to promote cultural contextuality and relational catholicity within a single, generous and diverse ecclesial space. This very fact, in itself, is a source of hope for the Anglican Communion. It also has major implications for how the Instruments of Communion, and particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, consider future strategic reforms in the Communion.

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<sup>1138</sup> For Hooker and Maurice, Anglican ecclesiology affirmed a large and generous space in which the boundaries of exclusion were able to include a vast amount of diversity. Hooker, as shown in chapter three, in the context of the relationship between the Church of England and other national churches, drew his line of exclusion in the principle of 'apostasy'. 'That which separateth therefore utterly,' he wrote, 'that which cutteth off clean from the visible Church of Christ is plain apostasy, direct denial, utter rejection of the whole Christian faith.' (LEP, V. 397.) Likewise, Maurice, despite defining the signs of the church with great precision, did not consider these signs to be lines of exclusion. Instead, he always felt able to assert the legitimacy and integrity of other national churches. Maurice wrote: '*Shall I require the German, or the Helvetian, or the Dutchman to say, I have had no Church, not even the dream of one, I come to ask one from you? God forbid. If he can say such words, he does himself a deep moral injury ... No, if we would bind him to the Church Catholic...let us allow him to lay fast hold of every portion of truth which he possesses, of every institution which belongs to him... [Otherwise] ... it is as much as saying, that we want him to be an Anglican, which he cannot be, and not a Catholic, which he can be.*' Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer. 38.



## RESUMEN DE LA TESIS DOCTORAL

**Título:** *La identidad anglicana como eclesiología de mestizaje: contextualidad cultural and catolicidad relacional antes y después del Pacto Anglicano.*

**Autor:** Daniel Muñoz Triviño

### Introducción

En la última década la Comunión Anglicana ha vivido unos de sus años más convulsos y ha experimentado uno de los mayores desafíos de su historia. La crisis provocada por la consagración al episcopado del primer obispo abiertamente homosexual y por las celebraciones litúrgicas de uniones de parejas del mismo sexo en América del Norte, ha revelado grietas profundas en un modelo eclesiológico complejo y diverso. La respuesta oficial a esta crisis, en el ‘Pacto Anglicano’, ha tenido una recepción mixta por parte de las diversas provincias e iglesias nacionales.

Este trabajo de investigación se propone dar respuesta a la pregunta: ‘qué significa ser Anglicano tras esta crisis’. O dicho de otro modo, si existe una identidad anglicana que pueda ser articulada y compartida por la mayoría de anglicanos actualmente. En caso afirmativo, la pregunta que procede es: ‘de qué tipo de identidad se trata’. Para responder a estas cuestiones, se ofrece un bosquejo histórico del desarrollo de la identidad anglicana desde su origen, en la Reforma inglesa del siglo XVI, hasta nuestros días. Para hacer posible este análisis dentro de los límites espaciales de esta tesis, se ha restringido el campo de trabajo a un número limitado de teólogos influyentes y de documentos oficiales significativos. Se presta especial atención al Pacto Anglicano (2009), y en concreto, al proceso de redacción del Pacto, especialmente a las respuestas oficiales a los diversos borradores de dicho documento, entre 2007-2009. Este proceso suspuso uno de los intentos de articulación identitaria más creativos por parte de las iglesias anglicanas nacionales desde sus propios contextos culturales.

Como trabajo interdisciplinar las principales fuentes consultadas son históricas, sociológicas, de estudios culturales y eclesiología contemporánea. El método, con elementos descriptivos, reflexivos y analíticos, hace énfasis en la praxis eclesiológica, la historiografía evolutiva y el análisis sociológico.

La tesis está compuesta por tres apartados que actúan como bloques estructurales. El primero se centra en el desarrollo de la identidad anglicana en los siglos XVI y XIX, con referencia a Richard Hooker y F.D. Maurice. El segundo explora el concepto de identidad anglicana contemporánea a partir de documentos oficiales conectados con el Pacto Anglicano. El tercer apartado analiza, desde la perspectiva de la sociología y los estudios culturales, el papel de la cultura en la articulación identitaria. En esta parte se propone un modelo eclesiológico basado en la noción de mestizaje teológico y eclesio-cultural. Se utiliza aquí ‘mestizaje’, como sinónimo de hibridez e interculturalidad, con ciertos matices.

### **Parte 1. Identidad histórica: precedents históricos del anglicanismo inglés**

Este apartado explora el desarrollo de la identidad anglicana en dos momentos claves de su historia: el siglo XVI (Renacimiento-primerá Reforma), y el siglo XIX (Ilustración-segunda Reforma). Ambos períodos históricos tienen algo en común: los dos fueron momentos de enormes transiciones socio-culturales, en los que los anglicanos tuvieron de dar respuesta a nuevos desafíos. Para ello se han considerado las aportaciones de dos influyentes teólogos, que articularon de modo original sus visiones personales del mestizaje anglicano: Richard Hooker y F.D. Maurice. Estos capítulos constituyen los cimientos eclesio-teológicos de la tesis. En ellos se subrayan dos elementos fundamentales de la eclesiología anglicana clásica: el paradigma hermenéutico conversacional de Hooker (Biblia, razón y tradición), y la síntesis esencialista de Maurice (predicada en su obra, *The Kingdom of Christ*). Ambos son expresiones de una eclesiología profundamente mestiza (un híbrido de catolicismo y protestantismo), que conectan con el resto de la tesis.

### **Parte 2. Identidad contemporánea**

En este apartado se explora la evolución del anglicanismo contemporáneo, que pasa de ser una iglesia nacional, circunscrita a las Islas Británicas (hasta el siglo XVIII), a convertirse en una familia internacional de iglesias. Esta evolución modificó la identidad anglicana sustancialmente en varios niveles. En estos capítulos, se presta especial atención al desarrollo identitario desde la primera Conferencia de Lambeth (1867) hasta

el Pacto Anglicano (2009). El capítulo 5 es especialmente relevante, pues en él se ofrece una imagen actualizada de la geografía y la demografía de la Comunión Anglicana. Esta investigación ha revelado datos nuevos que ponen en cuestión la narrativa actual sobre membresía, crecimiento y declive en la iglesia.

El capítulo 6 se centra en las recientes articulaciones de identidad anglicana tanto en documentos oficiales (Windsor, Pacto, respuestas oficiales a ambos), como en las respuestas y críticas teológicas a estos documentos. El mestizaje eclesiológico surge de nuevo en estas formulaciones. Esta vez, no simplemente como un híbrido teológico de elementos católicos y reformados, sino como un híbrido eclesio-cultural. Es decir, la adaptación e inculturación de la *ecclesia anglicana* a nuevos territorios, en algunos casos, generó nuevos mestizajes eclesio-culturales, mientras que en otros dicho mestizaje es latente o potencial, a la espera de que se den las circunstancias, en los contextos locales, que faciliten su plena expresión.

### **Parte 3. Identidad cultural y mestizaje**

Este apartado contiene la tesis de la tesis. Aquí se explora, desde la perspectiva de los estudios culturales y la sociología de la religión, el papel fundamental que juega la cultura en la identidad anglicana histórica y contemporánea, desde la experiencia del mestizaje.

En el capítulo 7 se analizan las referencias al fenómeno cultural en el Pacto y en las respuestas oficiales. Además se analizan los diversos choques culturales globales, fundamentalmente entre zonas en transición de la modernidad a la postmodernidad, y los choques entre la postmodernidad y el postcolonialismo.

En el capítulo 8 se proponen dos claves eclesiológicas para comprender el anglicanismo: la contextualidad cultural y la catolicidad relacional. Se ofrecen varios ejemplos en los que se reformulan elementos clásicos de la teología anglicana (ej. el *lex orandi*, el paradigma hermenéutico de Hooker, la noción de adiáfora), desde la perspectiva de una auténtica contextualidad cultural, y desde los desafíos que plantea una catolicidad relacional en un mundo globalizado y multicultural.

Finalmente, el capítulo 9 propone una eclesiología de mestizaje anglicano, como espacio dinámico de diversidad, con puntos múltiples de contacto, contraste y



confluencia. Se valoran las dificultades y limitaciones de este modelo, al igual que las dinámicas de inclusión y exclusión conectadas con él. Se critica y desafía aquellas visiones del anglicanismo que niegan los elementos básicos del mestizaje: los procesos dialogales respetuosos, el reconocimiento del valor del otro, la afirmación de la diversidad, igualdad y reciprocidad interculturales, y la humildad teológica. La noción de mestizaje anglicano se establece sobre la base de su síntesis histórica híbrida eclesio-teológica, y sobre su experiencia intercultural presente. Con ello se muestra que la eclesiología de mestizaje no es un concepto nuevo en el anglicanismo, sino un lenguaje nuevo para expresar la teología heredada y la praxis eclesial contemporánea.

## **Conclusión**

Esta tesis da voz a múltiples articulaciones de identidad anglicana en distintos momentos de la historia y en diferentes partes de la Comunión, desde el marco de un espacio mestizo. Aquellos que, como Hooker y Maurice, buscaron articular en el pasado una visión del anglicanismo capaz de incluir la diversidad de su iglesia, abogaron de diversas maneras por espacios interculturales, inter-eclesiales e inter-teológicos. Uno de los elementos más importantes que esta investigación ha puesto de manifiesto, es que la mayoría de los anglicanos en la actualidad continúan apostando por una iglesia en la que se celebre la diversidad teológica y cultural, y en la que se afirme una eclesiología dialogal. Es decir, un anglicanismo mestizo capaz de promover la contextualidad cultural y la catolicidad relacional, dentro de un espacio eclesial único, generoso y diverso. Esto, en sí, es una fuente de esperanza para la Comunión Anglicana.

## DOCTORAL THESIS SUMMARY

**Title:** *Anglican Identity as Mestizaje Ecclesiology: cultural contextuality and relational catholicity before and after the Anglican Covenant.*

**Author:** Daniel Muñoz

### Introduction

In the last decade the Anglican Communion has experienced some of the greatest challenges of its history. The crisis provoked by the consecration of its first openly gay bishop in the USA and the blessing of same-sex couples in North America has exposed deep rifts in a complex and diverse ecclesiological model. The official response to this crisis, in the Anglican Covenant, has had a mixed reception by the various provinces and national churches.

This research study attempts to answer the question of ‘what does it mean to be Anglican in the aftermath of this crisis’. In other words, is there an Anglican identity that can still be articulated and shared by most self-professed Anglicans, and if so, what does it look like? In order to do so, I offer an overview of the development of Anglican identity from its genesis in the 16<sup>th</sup> century English Reformation, until the present time. The a priori overambitious nature of this research is qualified by restricting the scope of the study to a limited number of influential theologians and significant official documents. I pay special attention to the Anglican Covenant (2009) and, in particular, to the process of redaction of the Covenant and the official responses to the various Covenant drafts (2007-2009). The latter constitutes one of the most creative attempts by national churches to articulate their own vision of Anglican identity from their own cultural contexts.

As an interdisciplinary thesis I draw primarily from historical sources, sociological and cultural studies, and contemporary (ecumenical) approaches to ecclesiology. The method, with descriptive, reflective and analytical elements, places an emphasis on praxis ecclesiology, developmental-historiography and sociological analysis.

This thesis contains three distinct parts that act as building blocks. The first one focuses on the development of Anglican identity in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, with reference to Richard Hooker and F.D. Maurice. The second part explores contemporary

Anglican identity based on the official documents connected to the Covenant. And the third part analyzes, from the perspective of sociology and cultural studies, the role of culture in the articulation of Anglican identity. This section puts forward an ecclesiological framework based on the notion of theological and ecclesio-cultural *mestizaje*. Mestizaje, from the Spanish for mixed ethnicity or mixed culture, is used by cultural studies as a synonym of hybridity and interculturality, with certain nuances.

### **Part 1. Historical Identity: historical precedents of English Anglicanism**

This section focuses on the development of Anglican identity during two key moments of its history: the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Renaissance-first Reformation), and the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Enlightenment-second Reformation). Both historical periods share one thing in common: they were moments of enormous cultural transition, in which Anglicans had to respond to new challenges. In order to do so I have considered the contributions of two influential theologians, who articulated in their own unique way their version of Anglican mestizaje: Richard Hooker and F.D. Maurice. These chapters lay the ecclesio-theological foundation of the thesis. Here I highlight two fundamental elements of historic Anglican ecclesiology: Hooker's hermeneutical conversational paradigm (Bible, reason and tradition), and Maurice's essentialist Anglican synthesis (as spelt out in *The Kingdom of Christ*). In both cases, these are expressions of a fundamentally mestizo ecclesiology (a hybrid of catholic *and* reformed), which connect with the second and third parts of the thesis.

### **Part 2. Contemporary Identity**

The focus here is on the evolution of contemporary Anglicanism, from being a national church, circumscribed to the British Isles (until the 18<sup>th</sup> century), to becoming an international family of churches. This development modified Anglican identity substantially at different levels. In this second part I pay particular attention to the development of Anglican identity from the first Lambeth Conference (1867) until the Anglican Covenant (2009). Particularly significant is chapter 5, where I present an overview of the development of the Anglican Communion, and by extension of Anglican identity. In this chapter I offer a contemporary, up-to-date picture of the Communion,

geographically and demographically. This latter aspect has revealed significant new data that challenges some of the existing membership rhetoric.

In chapter 6, I focus on recent articulations of Anglican identity in official documents (Windsor, Covenant and official responses to both), as well as theological responses and critiques of these documents. In this identity formulation, ecclesiological mestizaje emerges again. This time, however, not simply as a theological hybrid of catholic-reformed elements, but also as a cultural hybrid. In other words, the adaptation and inculturation of the *ecclesia anglicana* in new territories, in some cases, generated new ecclesio-cultural mestizajes, whereas in other instances such mestizaje is latent or potential, awaiting the development of circumstances in the local contexts which may enable their full expression. These reflections lead to the third section of the thesis, centred on Anglican mestizaje as its ecclesio-cultural identity.

### **Part 3: Identity and Culture**

In this section we find the thesis of the thesis. Here I explore, from the perspectives of cultural studies and sociology of religion, the fundamental role played by culture in historic and contemporary Anglican identity, from the experience of mestizaje.

In chapter 7, I analyze the references to culture in the Covenant and the various official responses. I also analyze the diverse global cultural clashes, fundamentally between areas where there is a transition from modernity to postmodernity, and clashes between postmodernity and postcolonialism.

In chapter 8, I propose two ecclesiological keys to understand Anglicanism: cultural contextuality and relational catholicity. In addition, I offer several examples of how some classic elements of Anglican theology may be rearticulated (eg. the *lex orandi*, Hooker's hermeneutical paradigm, the notion of *adiaphora*) from the perspective of an authentic cultural contextuality, and the challenges experienced by a relational type of catholicity in a globalized and multicultural world.

Finally, in chapter 9, I affirm Anglican mestizaje ecclesiology as a space of dynamic diversity, with multiple points of contact, contrast and confluences. I acknowledge the difficulties and limitations of this model, as well as the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion connected with it. I critique and challenge certain modes of thinking of Anglicanism that deny the key elements of mestizaje, namely, respectful

dialogical processes, the recognition of the value of the other, and the affirmation of intercultural diversity, equality, reciprocity and theological humility. I attempt here to establish the notion of Anglican mestizaje on both its historic hybrid ecclesio-theological synthesis, and its intercultural experience. In doing so I show that mestizaje ecclesiology is not a novel concept in Anglicanism, but a new language to express inherited theology and contemporary ecclesial praxis.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis gives voice to multiple articulations of Anglican identity from different periods of history and different parts of the Communion, within the wider framework of a mestizo space. Those who, like Hooker or Maurice, sought in the past to articulate a vision of Anglicanism that could contain the diversity of their church, advocated in different ways intercultural, inter-ecclesiological and inter-theological spaces. One of the key findings of this research on contemporary global Anglicanism is that the majority of Anglicans today continue to believe in a church where theological and cultural diversity is celebrated, and where dialogical ecclesiology is affirmed. In other words, in a mestizo Anglicanism able to promote cultural contextuality and relational catholicity within a single, generous and diverse ecclesial space. This, in itself, is a source of hope for the Anglican Communion.

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# **APPENDICES**

## **1. The Anglican Communion Covenant**

## **2. The Covenant Drafts**





## Anexo 1: THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION COVENANT

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### Introduction to the Covenant Text

*“This life is revealed, and we have seen it and testify to it, and declare to you the eternal life that was with the Father and was revealed to us – we declare to you what we have seen and heard so that you also may have communion with us; and truly our communion is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. These things we write so that our joy may be complete.” (1 John 1.2-4).*

1. God has called us into communion in Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 1.9). This communion has been “revealed to us” by the Son as being the very divine life of God the Trinity. What is the life revealed to us? St John makes it clear that the communion of life in the Church participates in the communion which is the divine life itself, the life of the Trinity. This life is not a reality remote from us, but one that has been “seen” and “testified to” by the apostles and their followers: “for in the communion of the Church we share in the divine life”<sup>1</sup>. This life of the One God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, shapes and displays itself through the very existence and ordering of the Church.
2. Our divine calling into communion is established in God’s purposes for the whole of creation (Eph 1:10; 3:9ff.). It is extended to all humankind, so that, in our sharing of God’s life as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, God might restore in us the divine image. Through time, according to the Scriptures, God has furthered this calling through covenants made with Noah, Abraham, Israel, and David. The prophet Jeremiah looked forward to a new covenant not written on tablets of stone but upon the heart (Jer 31.31-34). In God’s Son, Christ Jesus, a new covenant is given us, established in his “blood ... poured out for the many for the forgiveness of sins” (Mt 26:28), secured through his resurrection from the dead (Eph 1:19-23), and sealed with the gift of the Holy Spirit poured into our hearts (Rom 5:5). Into this covenant of death to sin and of new life in Christ we are baptized, and empowered to share God’s communion in Christ with all people, to the ends of the earth and of creation.
3. We humbly recognize that this calling and gift of communion entails responsibilities for our common life before God as we seek, through grace, to be faithful in our service of God’s purposes for the world. Joined in one universal Church, which is Christ’s Body, spread throughout the earth, we serve his gospel even as we are enabled to be made one across the dividing walls of human sin and estrangement (Eph 2.12-22). The forms of this life in the Church, caught up in the mystery of divine communion, reveal to the hostile and divisive power of the world the “manifold wisdom of God” (Eph 3:9-10). Faithfulness, honesty, gentleness, humility, patience, forgiveness, and love itself, lived out in mutual deference and service (Mk 10.44-45) among the Church’s people and through its ministries, contribute to building up the body of Christ as it grows to maturity (Eph 4.1-16; Col 3.8-17).
4. In the providence of God, which holds sway even over our divisions caused by sin, various families of churches have grown up within the universal Church in the course of history. Among these families is the Anglican Communion, which provides a particular charism and identity among the many followers and servants of Jesus. We recognise the wonder, beauty and challenge of maintaining communion in this family of churches, and the need for mutual commitment and discipline as a witness to God’s promise in a world and time of instability, conflict, and fragmentation. Therefore, we covenant together as churches of this Anglican Communion to be faithful to God’s promises through the historic faith we confess, our common worship, our participation in God’s mission, and the way we live together.
5. To covenant together is not intended to change the character of this Anglican expression of Christian faith. Rather, we recognise the importance of renewing in a solemn way our commitment to one another, and to the common understanding of faith and order we have received, so that the bonds of affection which hold us together may be re-affirmed and intensified. We do this in order to reflect, in our relations with one another, God’s own faithfulness and promises towards us in Christ (2 Cor 1.20-22).

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<sup>1</sup> The Church of the Triune God, The Cyprus Statement of the International Commission for Anglican Orthodox Theological Dialogue, 2007, paragraph 1,2.

6. We are a people who live, learn, and pray by and with the Scriptures as God's Word. We seek to adore God in thanks and praise and to make intercession for the needs of people everywhere through common prayer, united across many cultures and languages. We are privileged to share in the mission of the apostles to bring the gospel of Christ to all nations and peoples, not only in words but also in deeds of compassion and justice that witness to God's character and the triumph of Christ over sin and death. We give ourselves as servants of a greater unity among the divided Christians of the world. May the Lord help us to "preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ as Lord, and ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake" (2 Cor. 4.5).

7. Our faith embodies a coherent testimony to what we have received from God's Word and the Church's long-standing witness. Our life together reflects the blessings of God (even as it exposes our failures in faith, hope and love) in growing our Communion into a truly global family. The mission we pursue aims at serving the great promises of God in Christ that embrace the peoples and the world God so loves. This mission is carried out in shared responsibility and stewardship of resources, and in interdependence among ourselves and with the wider Church.

8. Our prayer is that God will redeem our struggles and weakness, renew and enrich our common life and use the Anglican Communion to witness effectively in all the world, working with all people of good will, to the new life and hope found in Christ Jesus.

## **The Anglican Communion Covenant**

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### **Preamble**

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We, as Churches of the Anglican Communion, under the Lordship of Jesus Christ, solemnly covenant together in these following affirmations and commitments. As people of God, drawn from "every nation, tribe, people and language" (Rev 7.9), we do this in order to proclaim more effectively in our different contexts the grace of God revealed in the gospel, to offer God's love in responding to the needs of the world, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and together with all God's people to attain the full stature of Christ (Eph 4.3,13).

### **Section One: Our Inheritance of Faith**

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#### **1.1 Each Church affirms:**

(1.1.1) its communion in the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, worshipping the one true God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

(1.1.2) the catholic and apostolic faith uniquely revealed in the Holy Scriptures and set forth in the catholic creeds, which faith the Church is called upon to proclaim afresh in each generation<sup>2</sup>. The historic formularies of the Church of England<sup>3</sup>, forged in the context of the European Reformation and acknowledged and appropriated in various ways in the Anglican Communion, bear authentic witness to this faith.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. The Preface to the Declaration of Assent, Canon C15 of the Church of England.

<sup>3</sup> The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons

(1.1.3) the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary for salvation and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith<sup>4</sup>.

(1.1.4) the Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith<sup>5</sup>.

(1.1.5) the two sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him<sup>6</sup>.

(1.1.6) the historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church<sup>7</sup>.

(1.1.7) the shared patterns of our common prayer and liturgy which form, sustain and nourish our worship of God and our faith and life together.

(1.1.8) its participation in the apostolic mission of the whole people of God, and that this mission is shared with other Churches and traditions beyond this Covenant.

## **1.2 In living out this inheritance of faith together in varying contexts, each Church, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself:**

(1.2.1) to teach and act in continuity and consonance with Scripture and the catholic and apostolic faith, order and tradition, as received by the Churches of the Anglican Communion, mindful of the common councils of the Communion and our ecumenical agreements.

(1.2.2) to uphold and proclaim a pattern of Christian theological and moral reasoning and discipline that is rooted in and answerable to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the catholic tradition.

(1.2.3) to witness, in this reasoning, to the renewal of humanity and the whole created order through the death and resurrection of Christ, and to reflect the holiness that in consequence God gives to, and requires from, his people.

(1.2.4) to hear, read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the Scriptures in our different contexts, informed by the attentive and communal reading of - and costly witness to - the Scriptures by all the faithful, by the teaching of bishops and synods, and by the results of rigorous study by lay and ordained scholars.

(1.2.5) to ensure that biblical texts are received, read and interpreted faithfully, respectfully, comprehensively and coherently, with the expectation that Scripture continues to illuminate and transform the Church and its members, and through them, individuals, cultures and societies.

(1.2.6) to encourage and be open to prophetic and faithful leadership in ministry and mission so as to enable God's people to respond in courageous witness to the power of the gospel in the world.

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<sup>4</sup> The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1886/1888

<sup>5</sup> The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1886/1888

<sup>6</sup> cf. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886/1888, The Preface to the Declaration of Assent, Canon C15 of the Church of England.

<sup>7</sup> cf. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886/1888

(1.2.7) to seek in all things to uphold the solemn obligation to nurture and sustain eucharistic communion, in accordance with existing canonical disciplines, as we strive under God for the fuller realisation of the communion of all Christians.

(1.2.8) to pursue a common pilgrimage with the whole Body of Christ continually to discern the fullness of truth into which the Spirit leads us, that peoples from all nations may be set free to receive new and abundant life in the Lord Jesus Christ.

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## **Section Two: The Life We Share with Others: Our Anglican Vocation**

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### **2.1 Each Church affirms:**

(2.1.1) communion as a gift of God given so that God's people from east and west, north and south, may together declare the glory of the Lord and be both a sign of God's reign in the Holy Spirit and the first fruits in the world of God's redemption in Christ.

(2.1.2) its gratitude for God's gracious providence extended to us down through the ages: our origins in the Church of the apostles; the ancient common traditions; the rich history of the Church in Britain and Ireland reshaped by the Reformation, and our growth into a global communion through the expanding missionary work of the Church; our ongoing refashioning by the Holy Spirit through the gifts and sacrificial witness of Anglicans from around the world; and our summons into a more fully developed communion life.

(2.1.3) in humility our call to constant repentance: for our failures in exercising patience and charity and in recognizing Christ in one another; our misuse of God's gracious gifts; our failure to heed God's call to serve; and our exploitation one of another.

(2.1.4) the imperative of God's mission into which the Communion is called, a vocation and blessing in which each Church is joined with others in Christ in the work of establishing God's reign. As the Communion continues to develop into a worldwide family of interdependent churches, we embrace challenges and opportunities for mission at local, regional, and international levels. In this, we cherish our mission heritage as offering Anglicans distinctive opportunities for mission collaboration.

(2.1.5) that our common mission is a mission shared with other Churches and traditions beyond this Covenant. We embrace opportunities for the discovery of the life of the whole gospel, and for reconciliation and shared mission with the Church throughout the world. We affirm the ecumenical vocation of Anglicanism to the full visible unity of the Church in accordance with Christ's prayer that "all may be one". It is with all the saints in every place and time that we will comprehend the fuller dimensions of Christ's redemptive and immeasurable love.

### **2.2 In recognition of these affirmations, each Church, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself:**

(2.2.1) to answer God's call to undertake evangelisation and to share in the healing and reconciling mission "for our blessed but broken, hurting and fallen world"<sup>8</sup>, and, with mutual accountability, to share our God-given spiritual and material resources in this task.

(2.2.2) to undertake in this mission, which is the mission of God in Christ<sup>9</sup>:

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<sup>8</sup> IASCOME Report, ACC-13

<sup>9</sup> The five Marks of Mission are set out in the MISSIO Report of 1999, building on work at ACC-6 and ACC-8.

(2.2.2.a) “to proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom of God” and to bring all to repentance and faith;  
(2.2.2.b) “to teach, baptize and nurture new believers”, making disciples of all nations (Mt 28.19) through the quickening power of the Holy Spirit<sup>10</sup> and drawing them into the one Body of Christ whose faith, calling and hope are one in the Lord (Eph 4.4-6);  
(2.2.2.c) “to respond to human need by loving service”, disclosing God’s reign through humble ministry to those most needy (Mk 10.42-45; Mt 18.4; 25.31-45);  
(2.2.2.d) “to seek to transform unjust structures of society” as the Church stands vigilantly with Christ proclaiming both judgment and salvation to the nations of the world<sup>11</sup>, and manifesting through our actions on behalf of God’s righteousness the Spirit’s transfiguring power<sup>12</sup>;  
(2.2.2.e) “to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and to sustain and renew the life of the earth” as essential aspects of our mission in communion<sup>13</sup>.

(2.2.3) to engage in this mission with humility and an openness to our own ongoing conversion in the face of our unfaithfulness and failures in witness.

(2.2.4) to revive and renew structures for mission which will awaken and challenge the whole people of God to work, pray and give for the spread of the gospel.

(2.2.5) to order its mission in the joyful and reverent worship of God, thankful that in our eucharistic communion “Christ is the source and goal of the unity of the Church and of the renewal of human community”<sup>14</sup>.

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## Section Three: Our Unity and Common Life

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### 3.1 Each Church affirms:

(3.1.1) that by our participation in Baptism and Eucharist, we are incorporated into the one body of the Church of Jesus Christ, and called by Christ to pursue all things that make for peace and build up our common life.

(3.1.2) its resolve to live in a Communion of Churches. Each Church, with its bishops in synod, orders and regulates its own affairs and its local responsibility for mission through its own system of government and law and is therefore described as living “in communion with autonomy and accountability”<sup>15</sup>. Trusting in the Holy Spirit, who calls and enables us to dwell in a shared life of common worship and prayer for one another, in mutual affection, commitment and service, we seek to affirm our common life through those Instruments of Communion by which our Churches are enabled to be conformed together to the mind of Christ. Churches of the Anglican Communion are bound together “not by a central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the bishops in conference”<sup>16</sup> and of the other instruments of Communion.

(3.1.3) the central role of bishops as guardians and teachers of faith, as leaders in mission, and as a visible sign of unity, representing the universal Church to the local, and the local

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<sup>10</sup> Church as Communion n26

<sup>11</sup> WCC 1954 Evanston, Christ the Hope of the World

<sup>12</sup> Moscow Statement, 43

<sup>13</sup> IARCCUM, Growing Together in Unity and Mission, 118

<sup>14</sup> Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry, WCC,

<sup>15</sup> A Letter from Alexandria, the Primates, March 2009

<sup>16</sup> Lambeth Conference 1930

Church to the universal and the local Churches to one another. This ministry is exercised personally, collegially and within and for the eucharistic community. We receive and maintain the historic threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, ordained for service in the Church of God, as they call all the baptised into the mission of Christ.

(3.1.4) the importance of instruments in the Anglican Communion to assist in the discernment, articulation and exercise of our shared faith and common life and mission. The life of communion includes an ongoing engagement with the diverse expressions of apostolic authority, from synods and episcopal councils to local witness, in a way which continually interprets and articulates the common faith of the Church's members (consensus fidelium). In addition to the many and varied links which sustain our life together, we acknowledge four particular Instruments at the level of the Anglican Communion which express this co-operative service in the life of communion.

I. We accord the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the bishop of the See of Canterbury with which Anglicans have historically been in communion, a primacy of honour and respect among the college of bishops in the Anglican Communion as first among equals (*primus inter pares*). As a focus and means of unity, the Archbishop gathers and works with the Lambeth Conference and Primates' Meeting, and presides in the Anglican Consultative Council.

II. The Lambeth Conference expresses episcopal collegiality worldwide, and brings together the bishops for common worship, counsel, consultation and encouragement in their ministry of guarding the faith and unity of the Communion and equipping the saints for the work of ministry (Eph 4.12) and mission.

III. The Anglican Consultative Council is comprised of lay, clerical and episcopal representatives from our Churches<sup>17</sup>. It facilitates the co-operative work of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, co-ordinates aspects of international Anglican ecumenical and mission work, calls the Churches into mutual responsibility and interdependence, and advises on developing provincial structures<sup>18</sup>.

IV. The Primates' Meeting is convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury for mutual support, prayer and counsel. The authority that primates bring to the meeting arises from their own positions as the senior bishops of their Provinces, and the fact that they are in conversation with their own Houses of Bishops and located within their own synodical structures<sup>19</sup>. In the Primates' Meeting, the Primates and Moderators are called to work as representatives of their Provinces in collaboration with one another in mission and in doctrinal, moral and pastoral matters that have Communion-wide implications.

It is the responsibility of each Instrument to consult with, respond to, and support each other Instrument and the Churches of the Communion<sup>20</sup>. Each Instrument may initiate and commend a process of discernment and a direction for the Communion and its Churches.

### **3.2 Acknowledging our interdependent life, each Church, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself:**

(3.2.1) to have regard for the common good of the Communion in the exercise of its autonomy, to support the work of the Instruments of Communion with the spiritual and

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<sup>17</sup> Constitution of the ACC, Article 3 and Schedule

<sup>18</sup> cf. the Objects of the ACC are set out in Article 2 of its Constitution.

<sup>19</sup> Report of the Windsor Continuation Group, 69.

<sup>20</sup> cf IATDC, Communion, Conflict and Hope, paragraph 113.

material resources available to it, and to receive their work with a readiness to undertake reflection upon their counsels, and to endeavour to accommodate their recommendations.

(3.2.2) to respect the constitutional autonomy of all of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, while upholding our mutual responsibility and interdependence in the Body of Christ<sup>21</sup>, and the responsibility of each to the Communion as a whole<sup>22</sup>.

(3.2.3) to spend time with openness and patience in matters of theological debate and reflection, to listen, pray and study with one another in order to discern the will of God. Such prayer, study and debate is an essential feature of the life of the Church as it seeks to be led by the Spirit into all truth and to proclaim the gospel afresh in each generation. Some issues, which are perceived as controversial or new when they arise, may well evoke a deeper understanding of the implications of God's revelation to us; others may prove to be distractions or even obstacles to the faith. All such matters therefore need to be tested by shared discernment in the life of the Church.

(3.2.4) to seek a shared mind with other Churches, through the Communion's councils, about matters of common concern, in a way consistent with the Scriptures, the common standards of faith, and the canon laws of our churches. Each Church will undertake wide consultation with the other Churches of the Anglican Communion and with the Instruments and Commissions of the Communion.

(3.2.5) to act with diligence, care and caution in respect of any action which may provoke controversy, which by its intensity, substance or extent could threaten the unity of the Communion and the effectiveness or credibility of its mission.

(3.2.6) in situations of conflict, to participate in mediated conversations, which involve face to face meetings, agreed parameters and a willingness to see such processes through.

(3.2.7) to have in mind that our bonds of affection and the love of Christ compel us always to uphold the highest degree of communion possible.

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## **Section Four: Our Covenanted Life Together**

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**4 Each Church affirms the following principles and procedures, and, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself to their implementation.**

### **4.1 Adoption of the Covenant**

(4.1.1) Each Church adopting this Covenant affirms that it enters into the Covenant as a commitment to relationship in submission to God. Each Church freely offers this commitment to other Churches in order to live more fully into the ecclesial communion and interdependence which is foundational to the Churches of the Anglican Communion. The Anglican Communion is a fellowship, within the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, of national or regional Churches, in which each recognises in the others the bonds of a common loyalty to Christ expressed through a common faith and order, a shared inheritance in worship, life and mission, and a readiness to live in an interdependent life.

(4.1.2) In adopting the Covenant for itself, each Church recognises in the preceding sections a statement of faith, mission and interdependence of life which is consistent with its own life and with the doctrine and practice of the Christian faith as it has received them. It recognises these elements as foundational for the life of the Anglican Communion and therefore for the relationships among the covenanting Churches.

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<sup>21</sup> Toronto Congress 1963, and the Ten Principles of Partnership.

<sup>22</sup> cf. the Schedule to the Dar es Salaam Communiqué of the Primates' Meeting, February 2007



(4.1.3) Such mutual commitment does not represent submission to any external ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Nothing in this Covenant of itself shall be deemed to alter any provision of the Constitution and Canons of any Church of the Communion, or to limit its autonomy of governance. The Covenant does not grant to any one Church or any agency of the Communion control or direction over any Church of the Anglican Communion.

(4.1.4) Every Church of the Anglican Communion, as recognised in accordance with the Constitution of the Anglican Consultative Council, is invited to enter into this Covenant according to its own constitutional procedures.

(4.1.5) The Instruments of Communion may invite other Churches to adopt the Covenant using the same procedures as set out by the Anglican Consultative Council for the amendment of its schedule of membership. Adoption of this Covenant does not confer any right of recognition by, or membership of, the Instruments of Communion, which shall be decided by those Instruments themselves.

(4.1.6) This Covenant becomes active for a Church when that Church adopts the Covenant through the procedures of its own Constitution and Canons.

## **4.2 The Maintenance of the Covenant and Dispute Resolution**

(4.2.1) The Covenant operates to express the common commitments and mutual accountability which hold each Church in the relationship of communion one with another. Recognition of, and fidelity to, this Covenant, enable mutual recognition and communion. Participation in the Covenant implies a recognition by each Church of those elements which must be maintained in its own life and for which it is accountable to the Churches with which it is in Communion in order to sustain the relationship expressed in this Covenant.

(4.2.2) The Standing Committee of the Anglican Communion, responsible to the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates' Meeting, shall monitor the functioning of the Covenant in the life of the Anglican Communion on behalf of the Instruments. In this regard, the Standing Committee shall be supported by such other committees or commissions as may be mandated to assist in carrying out this function and to advise it on questions relating to the Covenant.

(4.2.3) When questions arise relating to the meaning of the Covenant, or about the compatibility of an action by a covenanting Church with the Covenant, it is the duty of each covenanting Church to seek to live out the commitments of Section 3.2. Such questions may be raised by a Church itself, another covenanting Church or the Instruments of Communion.

(4.2.4) Where a shared mind has not been reached the matter shall be referred to the Standing Committee. The Standing Committee shall make every effort to facilitate agreement, and may take advice from such bodies as it deems appropriate to determine a view on the nature of the matter at question and those relational consequences which may result. Where appropriate, the Standing Committee shall refer the question to both the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates' Meeting for advice.

(4.2.5) The Standing Committee may request a Church to defer a controversial action. If a Church declines to defer such action, the Standing Committee may recommend to any Instrument of Communion relational consequences which may specify a provisional limitation of participation in, or suspension from, that Instrument until the completion of the process set out below.

(4.2.6) On the basis of advice received from the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates' Meeting, the Standing Committee may make a declaration that an action or decision is or would be "incompatible with the Covenant".

(4.2.7) On the basis of the advice received, the Standing Committee shall make recommendations as to relational consequences which flow from an action incompatible with the Covenant. These recommendations may be addressed to the Churches of the Anglican Communion or to the Instruments of the Communion and address the extent to which the decision of any covenanting Church impairs or limits the communion between that Church and the other Churches of the Communion, and the practical consequences of such impairment or limitation. Each Church or each Instrument shall determine whether or not to accept such recommendations.

(4.2.8) Participation in the decision making of the Standing Committee or of the Instruments of Communion in respect to section 4.2 shall be limited to those members of the Instruments of Communion who are representatives of those churches who have adopted the Covenant, or who are still in the process of adoption.

(4.2.9) Each Church undertakes to put into place such mechanisms, agencies or institutions, consistent with its own Constitution and Canons, as can undertake to oversee the maintenance of the affirmations and commitments of the Covenant in the life of that Church, and to relate to the Instruments of Communion on matters pertinent to the Covenant.

### **4.3 Withdrawing from the Covenant**

(4.3.1) Any covenanting Church may decide to withdraw from the Covenant. Although such withdrawal does not imply an automatic withdrawal from the Instruments of Communion or a repudiation of its Anglican character, it may raise a question relating to the meaning of the Covenant, and of compatibility with the principles incorporated within it, and trigger the provisions set out in section 4.2 above.

### **4.4 The Covenant Text and its amendment**

(4.4.1) The Covenant consists of the text set out in this document in the Preamble, Sections One to Four and the Declaration. The Introduction to the Covenant Text, which shall always be annexed to the Covenant text, is not part of the Covenant, but shall be accorded authority in understanding the purpose of the Covenant.

(4.4.2) Any covenanting Church or Instrument of Communion may submit a proposal to amend the Covenant to the Instruments of Communion through the Standing Committee. The Standing Committee shall send the proposal to the Anglican Consultative Council, the Primates' Meeting, the covenanting Churches and any other body as it may consider appropriate for advice. The Standing Committee shall make a recommendation on the proposal in the light of advice offered, and submit the proposal with any revisions to the covenanting Churches. The amendment is operative when ratified by three quarters of such Churches. The Standing Committee shall adopt a procedure for promulgation of the amendment.

### **Our Declaration**

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With joy and with firm resolve, we declare our Churches to be partakers in this Anglican Communion Covenant, offering ourselves for fruitful service and binding ourselves more closely in the truth and love of Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory for ever. Amen.

“Now may the God of Peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant, make you complete in everything good so that you may do his will, working among us that which is pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory forever and ever. Amen.” (Hebrews 13.20, 21)



## Anexo 2: Comparative Covenant Drafts

### A.C. Nassau Draft (2007)

#### 1 Preamble

(Psalms 127-12, Ezekiel 37:1-14, Mark 1:1, John 10:10, Romans 5:1-5, Ephesians 4:1-16, Revelation 2:3)

We, the Churches of the Anglican Communion, under the Lordship of Jesus Christ, solemnly covenant together in these articles, in order to proclaim more effectively in our different contexts the Grace of God revealed in the Gospel, to offer God's love in responding to the needs of the world, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and to grow up together as a worldwide Communion to the full stature of Christ.

#### 2 The Life We Share: Common Catholicity, Apostolicity and Confession of Faith

(Deuteronomy 6:4-7, Leviticus 19:9-10, Acts 5:14-15, 24, Matthew 25, 28:16-20, 1 Corinthians 12:5-11, Philippians 2:1-11, 1 Timothy 3:15-16, Hebrews 13:1-17)

Each member Church, and the Communion as a whole, affirms:

- (1) that it is part of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, worshipping the one true God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit<sup>1</sup>;
- (2) that it professes the faith which is uniquely revealed in the Holy Scriptures as containing all things necessary for salvation and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith<sup>2</sup>, and which is set forth in the catholic creeds, which faith the Church is called upon to proclaim afresh in each generation<sup>3</sup>;
- (3) that it holds and duly administers the two sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him<sup>4</sup>;
- (4) that it participates in the apostolic mission of the whole people of God;
- (5) that, led by the Holy Spirit, it has borne witness to Christian truth in its historic formularies, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons<sup>5</sup>;
- (6) our loyalty to this inheritance of faith as our inspiration and guidance under God in bringing the grace and truth of Christ to this generation and making Him known to our societies and nations<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The Preface to the Declaration of Assent, Canon C15 of the Church of England.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. The Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. The Preface to the Declaration of Assent, Canon C15 of the Church of England.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886/1888, The Preface to the Declaration of Assent, Canon C15 of the Church of England.

<sup>5</sup> How we have used to describe other Books of Common Prayer and Orders only authorized for use throughout the Anglican Communion, not acknowledging the foundational nature of the Book of Common Prayer 1662 in the life of the Communion.

### A.C. Nassau Draft (2007)

#### 3 Our Commitment to Confession of the Faith

(Deuteronomy 30:11-14, Psalm 126, Mark 10:26-27, Luke 1:37, 46-55, John 8:32, 14:15-17, 1 Corinthians 11:23-26, 2 Timothy 3:10-14, 2)

In seeking to be faithful to God in their various contexts, each Church commits itself to:

- (1) uphold and act in continuity and consistency with the catholic and apostolic faith, order and tradition, biblically derived moral values and the vision of humanity received by and developed in the communion of member Churches;
- (2) seek in all things to uphold the solemn obligation to sustain Eucharistic communion, welcoming members of all other member churches to join in its own celebration, and encouraging its members to participate in the Eucharist in a member church in accordance with the canonical discipline of that host church;
- (3) ensure that biblical texts are handled faithfully, respectfully, comprehensively and coherently, primarily through the teaching and initiative of bishops and synods, and building on the best scholarship, believing that scriptural revelation must continue to illuminate, challenge and transform cultures, structures and ways of thinking;
- (4) nurture and respond to prophetic and faithful leadership and ministry to assist our Churches as courageous witnesses to the transformative power of the Gospel in the world.
- (5) pursue a common pilgrimage with other members of the Communion to discern truth, that peoples from all nations may truly be free and receive the new and abundant life in the Lord Jesus Christ.

### A.C. St. Andrew's Draft (2008)

#### Preamble

We, the Churches of the Anglican Communion, under the Lordship of Jesus Christ, solemnly covenant together in these following affirmations and commitments. As people of God, drawn from "every nation, tribe, people and language"<sup>1</sup>, we do this in order to proclaim more effectively in our different contexts the Grace of God revealed in the gospel, to offer God's love in responding to the needs of the world, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and together with all God's people to grow up together to the full stature of Christ.

#### Section One: Our Inheritance of Faith

1.1 Each Church of the Communion affirms:

- (1.1.1) its communion in the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, worshipping the one true God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit<sup>2</sup>;
- (1.1.2) that, reliant on the Holy Spirit, it professes the faith which is uniquely revealed in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary for salvation and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith<sup>3</sup>, and which is set forth in the catholic creeds, and to which the historic formularies of the Church of England<sup>4</sup> bear significant witness, which faith the Church is called upon to proclaim afresh in each generation<sup>5</sup>;
- (1.1.3) that it holds and duly administers the two sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him<sup>6</sup>;
- (1.1.4) that it upholds the historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church<sup>7</sup>;
- (1.1.5) that our shared patterns of common prayer and liturgy form, sustain and nourish our worship of God and our faith and life together;
- (1.1.6) that it participates in the apostolic mission of the whole people of God, and that this mission is shared with other Churches and traditions beyond this Covenant.

### A.C. St. Andrew's Draft (2008)

#### 1.2 In living out this inheritance of faith together in varying contexts, each Church of the Communion commits itself:

- (1.2.1) to uphold and act in continuity and consonance with Scripture and the catholic and apostolic faith, order and tradition;
- (1.2.2) to uphold and proclaim a pattern of Christian theological and moral reasoning and discipline that is rooted in and answerable to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the catholic tradition and that reflects the renewal of humanity and the whole created order through the death and resurrection of Christ and the holiness that in consequence God gives to, and requires from, his people;
- (1.2.3) to seek in all things to uphold the solemn obligation to sustain Eucharistic communion, in accordance with existing canonical disciplines as we strive under God for the fuller realisation of the Communion of all Christians;
- (1.2.4) to ensure that biblical texts are handled faithfully, respectfully, comprehensively and coherently, primarily through the teaching and initiative of bishops and synods, and building on habits and disciplines of Bible study across the Church and on rigorous scholarship, believing that scriptural revelation continues to illuminate and transform individuals, cultures and societies;
- (1.2.5) nurture and respond to prophetic and faithful leadership in ministry and mission to equip God's people to be courageous witnesses to the power of the Gospel in the world.
- (1.2.6) pursue a common pilgrimage with other Churches of the Communion to discern the Truth, that peoples from all nations may truly be set free to receive the new and abundant life in the Lord Jesus Christ.

### A.C. Ridley Cambridge Draft (2009)

#### Preamble

We, as Churches of the Anglican Communion, under the Lordship of Jesus Christ, solemnly covenant together in these following affirmations and commitments. As people of God, drawn from "every nation, tribe, people and language" (Rev 7.9), we do this in order to proclaim more effectively in our different contexts the grace of God revealed in the gospel, to offer God's love in responding to the needs of the world, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and together with all God's people to attain the full stature of Christ (Eph 4.3,13).

#### Section One: Our Inheritance of Faith

1.1 Each Church affirms:

- (1.1.1) its communion in the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, worshipping the one true God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
- (1.1.2) the catholic and apostolic faith uniquely revealed in the Holy Scriptures and set forth in the catholic creeds, which faith the Church is called upon to proclaim afresh in each generation<sup>2</sup>. The historic formularies of the Church of England<sup>3</sup>, forged in the context of the European Reformation and acknowledged and appropriated in various ways in the Anglican Communion, bear authentic witness to this faith.
- (1.1.3) the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary for salvation and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith<sup>4</sup>.
- (1.1.4) the Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith<sup>5</sup>.
- (1.1.5) the two sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – ministered with the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him<sup>6</sup>.
- (1.1.6) the historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church<sup>7</sup>.
- (1.1.7) the shared patterns of our common prayer and liturgy which form, sustain and nourish our worship of God and our faith and life together.
- (1.1.8) its participation in the apostolic mission of the whole people of God, and that this mission is shared with other Churches and traditions beyond this Covenant.

### A.C. Ridley Cambridge Draft (2009)

#### 1.2 In living out this inheritance of faith together in varying contexts, each Church, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself:

- (1.2.1) to teach and act in continuity and consonance with Scripture and the catholic and apostolic faith, order and tradition, as received by the Churches of the Anglican Communion, mindful of the common councils of the Communion and our ecumenical agreements.
- (1.2.2) to uphold and proclaim a pattern of Christian theological and moral reasoning and discipline that is rooted in and answerable to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the catholic tradition.
- (1.2.3) to witness, in this reasoning, to the renewal of humanity and the whole created order through the death and resurrection of Christ, and to reflect the holiness that in consequence God gives to, and requires from, his people.
- (1.2.4) to hear, read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the Scriptures in our different contexts, informed by the attentive and communal reading of - and costly witness to - the Scriptures by all the faithful, by the teaching of bishops and synods, and by the results of rigorous study by lay and ordained scholars.
- (1.2.5) to ensure that biblical texts are received, read and interpreted faithfully, respectfully, comprehensively and coherently, with the expectation that Scripture continues to illuminate and transform the Church and its members, and through them, individuals, cultures and societies.
- (1.2.6) to encourage and be open to prophetic and faithful leadership in ministry and mission so as to enable God's people to respond in courageous witness to the power of the gospel in the world.
- (1.2.7) to seek in all things to uphold the solemn obligation to nurture and sustain eucharistic communion, in accordance with existing canonical disciplines, as we strive under God for the fuller realisation of the communion of all Christians.
- (1.2.8) to pursue a common pilgrimage with the whole Body of Christ continually to discern the fullness of truth into which the Spirit leads us, that peoples from all nations may be set free to receive new and abundant life in the Lord Jesus Christ.

<sup>4</sup> The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1886/1888

<sup>5</sup> The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1886/1888

<sup>6</sup> Cf. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886/1888, The Preface to the Declaration of Assent, Canon C15 of the Church of England.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886/1888

## A.C. Nassau Draft (2007)

### 4 The Life We Share with Others: Our Anglican Vocation

(Jeremiah 31:31-34; Isaiah 56:20-26; Matthew 28:19-20; John 17:20-24, 2  
Corinthians 8-9; Ephesians 2:11-22; James 1:22-27)

(1) We affirm that Communion is a gift of God: that His people from east and west, north and south, may together declare his glory and be a sign of God's Kingdom. We gratefully acknowledge God's gracious providence extended to us down the ages, our origins in the undivided Church, the rich history of the Church in Britain and Ireland shaped particularly by the Reformation, and our growth into a global communion through the various mission initiatives.

(2) As the Communion continues to develop into a worldwide family of interdependent churches, we also face challenges and opportunities for mission at local, regional, and international levels. We cherish our faith and mission heritage as offering us unique opportunities for mission collaboration, for discovery of the life of the whole gospel and for reconciliation and shared mission with the Church throughout the world.

(3) The member Churches acknowledge that their common mission is a mission shared with other churches and traditions not party to this covenant. It is with all the saints that we will comprehend the fuller dimensions of Christ's redemptive and immeasurable love.

(4) We commit ourselves to answering God's call to share in his healing and reconciling mission for our blessed but broken and hurting world, and, with mutual accountability, to share our God-given spiritual and material resources in this task.

(5) In this mission, which is the Mission of Christ<sup>7</sup>, we commit ourselves

1. to proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom of God
2. to teach, baptize and nurture new believers;
3. to respond to human need by loving service;
4. to seek to transform unjust structures of society; and
5. to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and to sustain and renew the life of the earth.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. The Preface to the Declaration of Assent, Canon C15 of the Church of England.  
<sup>7</sup> Cf. The five Marks of Mission as set out in the MISSIO Report of 1999, building on work at ACC-6 and ACC-8.

## A.C. Nassau Draft (2007)

## A.C. St. Andrew's Draft (2008)

### Section Two: The Life We Share with Others: Our Anglican Vocation

2.1 Each Church of the Communion affirms:

(2.1.1) that communion is a gift of God: that His people from east and west, north and south, may together declare his glory and be a sign of God's Reign. We gratefully acknowledge God's gracious providence extended to us down the ages, our origins in the Church of the Apostles, the ancient common traditions, the rich history of the Church in Britain and Ireland shaped by the Reformation, and our growth into a global communion through the expanding missionary work of the Church.

(2.1.2) the ongoing mission work of the Communion. As the Communion continues to develop into a worldwide family of interdependent churches, we embrace challenges and opportunities for mission at local, regional, and international levels. In this, we cherish our faith and mission heritage as offering Anglicans distinctive opportunities for mission collaboration.

(2.1.3) that our common mission is a mission shared with other churches and traditions beyond this covenant. We embrace opportunities for the discovery of the life of the whole gospel and for reconciliation and shared mission with the Church throughout the world. It is with all the saints that we will comprehend the fuller dimensions of Christ's redemptive and immeasurable love.

2.2 In recognition of these affirmations, each Church of the Communion commits itself:

(2.2.1) to answer God's call to evangelisation and to share in his healing and reconciling mission for our blessed but broken, hurting and fallen world, and, with mutual accountability, to share our God-given spiritual and material resources in this task.

(2.2.2) In this mission, which is the Mission of Christ<sup>8</sup>, each Church undertakes:

- (2.2.2.a) to proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom of God;
- (2.2.2.b) to teach, baptize and nurture new believers;
- (2.2.2.c) to respond to human need by loving service;
- (2.2.2.d) to seek to transform unjust structures of society; and
- (2.2.2.e) to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and to sustain and renew the life of the earth.

## A.C. St. Andrew's Draft (2008)

## A.C. Ridley Cambridge Draft (2009)

### Section Two: The Life We Share with Others: Our Anglican Vocation

2.1 Each Church affirms:

(2.1.1) communion as a gift of God given so that God's people from east and west, north and south, may together declare the glory of the Lord and be both a sign of God's reign in the Holy Spirit and the first fruits in the world of God's redemption in Christ.

(2.1.2) its gratitude for God's gracious providence extended to us down through the ages: our origins in the Church of the apostles; the ancient common traditions; the rich history of the Church in Britain and Ireland reshaped by the Reformation, and our growth into a global communion through the expanding missionary work of the Church; our ongoing refashioning by the Holy Spirit through the gifts and sacrificial witness of Anglicans from around the world; and our summons into a more fully developed communion life.

(2.1.3) in humility our call to constant repentance: for our failures in exercising patience and charity and in recognizing Christ in one another; our misuse of God's gracious gifts; our failure to heed God's call to serve; and our exploitation one of another.

(2.1.4) the imperative of God's mission into which the Communion is called, a vocation and blessing in which each Church is joined with others in Christ in the work of establishing God's reign. As the Communion continues to develop into a worldwide family of interdependent churches, we embrace challenges and opportunities for mission at local, regional, and international levels. In this, we cherish our mission heritage as offering Anglicans distinctive opportunities for mission collaboration.

(2.1.5) that our common mission is a mission shared with other Churches and traditions beyond this Covenant. We embrace opportunities for the discovery of the life of the whole gospel, and for reconciliation and shared mission with the Church throughout the world. We affirm the ecumenical vocation of Anglicanism to the full visible unity of the Church in accordance with Christ's prayer that "all may be one". It is with all the saints in every place and time that we will comprehend the fuller dimensions of Christ's redemptive and immeasurable love.

## A.C. Ridley Cambridge Draft (2009)

2.2 In recognition of these affirmations, each Church, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself:

(2.2.1) to answer God's call to undertake evangelisation and to share in the healing and reconciling mission "for our blessed but broken, hurting and fallen world"<sup>8</sup>, and, with mutual accountability, to share our God-given spiritual and material resources in this task.

(2.2.2) to undertake in this mission, which is the mission of God in Christ:

(2.2.2.a) "to proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom of God" and to bring all to repentance and faith;

(2.2.2.b) "to teach, baptize and nurture new believers", making disciples of all nations (Mt 28.19) through the quickening power of the Holy Spirit<sup>10</sup> and drawing them into the one Body of Christ whose faith, calling and hope are one in the Lord (Eph 4.4-6);

(2.2.2.c) "to respond to human need by loving service", disclosing God's reign through humble ministry to those most needy (Mk 10.42-45; Mt 18.4; 25.31-45);

(2.2.2.d) "to seek to transform unjust structures of society" as the Church stands vigilantly with Christ proclaiming both judgment and salvation to the nations of the world<sup>11</sup>, and manifesting through our actions on behalf of God's righteousness the Spirit's transfiguring power<sup>12</sup>;

(2.2.2.e) "to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and to sustain and renew the life of the earth" as essential aspects of our mission in communion<sup>13</sup>.

(2.2.3) to engage in this mission with humility and an openness to our own ongoing conversion in the face of our

unfaithfulness and failures in witness.  
(2.2.4) to revive and renew structures for mission which will awaken and challenge the whole people of God to work, pray and give for the spread of the gospel.

(2.2.5) to order its mission in the joyful and reverent worship of God, thankful that in our eucharistic communion "Christ is the source and goal of the unity of the Church and of the renewal of human community".



## A.C. Nassau Draft (2007)

### 5 Our Unity and Common Life

(Numbers 11:15-20; Luke 22:14-27; Acts 2:43-47; 4:32-35; 1 Corinthians 11:23-26; 1 Peter 4:7-11; 5:1-11)

(1) We affirm the historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church<sup>8</sup> and the central role of bishops as custodians of faith, leaders in mission, and as a visible sign of unity.

(2) We affirm the place of four Instruments of Communion which serve to discern our common mind in communion issues, and to foster our interdependence and mutual accountability in Christ. While each member Church orders and regulates its own affairs through its own system of government and law and is therefore described as autonomous, each church recognises that the member churches of the Anglican Communion are bound together, not juridically by a central legislative or executive authority, but by the Holy Spirit who calls and enables us to live in mutual loyalty and service.

## A.C. St. Andrew's Draft (2008)

### Section Three: Our Unity and Common Life

3.1 Each Church of the Communion affirms:

(3.1.1) that by our participation in Baptism and Eucharist, we are incorporated into the one body of the Church of Jesus Christ, and called by Christ to pursue all things that make for peace and build up our common life;

(3.1.2) its resolve to live in a Communion of Churches. Each Church, episcopally led and synodically governed, orders and regulates its own affairs and its local responsibility for mission through its own system of government and law and is therefore described as autonomous-in-communion<sup>9</sup>. Churches of the Anglican Communion are not bound together by a central legislative, executive or judicial authority. Trusting in the Holy Spirit, who calls and enables us to live in mutual affection, commitment and service, we seek to affirm our common life through those Instruments of Communion by which our Churches are enabled to develop a common mind;

(3.1.3) the central role of bishops as guardians and teachers of faith, leaders in mission, and as a visible sign of unity, representing the universal Church to the local, and the local Church to the universal. This ministry is exercised personally, collegially and within and for the eucharistic community. We receive and maintain the historic threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, ordained for service in the Church of God, as they call all the baptised into the mission of Christ;

(3.1.4) the importance of instruments in the Anglican Communion to assist in the discernment, articulation and exercise of our shared faith and common life and mission. In addition to the many and varied links which sustain our life together, we acknowledge four particular Instruments which co-operate in the service of Communion:

## A.C. Ridley Cambridge Draft (2009)

### Section Three: Our Unity and Common Life

3.1 Each Church affirms:

(3.1.1) that by our participation in Baptism and Eucharist, we are incorporated into the one body of the Church of Jesus Christ, and called by Christ to pursue all things that make for peace and build up our common life.

(3.1.2) its resolve to live in a Communion of Churches. Each Church, with its bishops in synod, orders and regulates its own affairs and its local responsibility for mission through its own system of government and law and is therefore described as living "in communion with autonomy and accountability"<sup>15</sup>. Trusting in the Holy Spirit, who calls and enables us to dwell in a shared life of common worship and prayer for one another, in mutual affection, commitment and service, we seek to affirm our common life through those Instruments of Communion by which our Churches are enabled to be conformed together to the mind of Christ. Churches of the Anglican Communion are bound together "not by a central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the bishops in conference"<sup>16</sup> and of the other instruments of Communion.

(3.1.3) the central role of bishops as guardians and teachers of faith, as leaders in mission, and as a visible sign of unity, representing the universal Church to the local, and the local Church to the universal and the local Churches to one another. This ministry is exercised personally, collegially and within and for the eucharistic community. We receive and maintain the historic threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, ordained for service in the Church of God, as they call all the baptised into the mission of Christ.

(3.1.4) the importance of instruments in the Anglican Communion to assist in the discernment, articulation and exercise of our shared faith and common life and mission. The life of communion includes an ongoing engagement with the diverse expressions of apostolic authority, from synods and episcopal councils to local witness, in a way which continually interprets and articulates the common faith of the Church's members (*consensus fidelium*). In addition to the many and varied links which sustain our life together, we acknowledge four particular Instruments at the level of the Anglican Communion which express this co-operative service in the life of communion.

## A.C. Nassau Draft (2007)

I. Of these four Instruments of Communion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whose See Anglicans have historically been in communion, is accorded a primacy of honour and respect as first amongst equals (*primus inter pares*). As a focus and means of unity, he gathers the Lambeth Conference and Primates' Meeting, and is President of the Anglican Consultative Council.

II. The Lambeth Conference, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressing episcopal collegiality worldwide, gathers the bishops for common counsel, consultation and encouragement and serves as an instrument in guarding the faith and unity of the Communion.

III. The Primates' Meeting, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assembles for mutual support and counsel, monitors global developments and works in full collaboration in doctrinal, moral and pastoral matters that have Communion-wide implications.

IV. The Anglican Consultative Council is a body representative of bishops, clergy and laity of the churches, which co-ordinates aspects of international Anglican ecumenical and mission work.

## A.C. St. Andrew's Draft (2008)

I. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with whose See Anglicans have historically been in communion, is accorded a primacy of honour and respect as first amongst equals (*primus inter pares*). As a focus and means of unity, he gathers the Lambeth Conference and Primates' Meeting, and presides in the Anglican Consultative Council;

II. The Lambeth Conference, expressing episcopal collegiality worldwide, gathers the bishops for common counsel, consultation and encouragement and serves as an instrument in guarding the faith and unity of the Communion and equipping the saints for the work of ministry and mission<sup>10</sup>;

III. The Anglican Consultative Council is comprised of laity, clergy and bishops representative of our Provincial synods. It facilitates the co-operative work of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, co-ordinates aspects of international Anglican ecumenical and mission work, calls the Churches into mutual responsibility and interdependence, and advises on developing provincial structures<sup>11</sup>;

IV. The Primates' Meeting is called by the Archbishop of Canterbury for mutual support, prayer and counsel. The Primates and Moderators are called to work as representative of their Provinces in collaboration with one another in mission and in doctrinal, moral and pastoral matters that have communion-wide implications.

## A.C. Ridley Cambridge Draft (2009)

I. We accord the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the bishop of the See of Canterbury with which Anglicans have historically been in communion, a primacy of honour and respect among the college of bishops in the Anglican Communion as first amongst equals (*primus inter pares*). As a focus and means of unity, the Archbishop gathers and works with the Lambeth Conference and Primates' Meeting, and presides in the Anglican Consultative Council.

II. The Lambeth Conference expresses episcopal collegiality worldwide, and brings together the bishops for common worship, counsel, consultation and encouragement in their ministry of guarding the faith and unity of the Communion and equipping the saints for the work of ministry (Eph 4:12) and mission.

III. The Anglican Consultative Council is comprised of lay, clerical and episcopal representatives from our Churches<sup>17</sup>. It facilitates the co-operative work of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, co-ordinates aspects of international Anglican ecumenical and mission work, calls the Churches into mutual responsibility and interdependence, and advises on developing provincial structures<sup>18</sup>.

IV. The Primates' Meeting is convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury for mutual support, prayer and counsel. The authority that primates bring to the meeting arises from their own positions as the senior bishops of their Provinces, and the fact that they are in conversation with their own Houses of Bishops and located within their own synodical structures<sup>19</sup>. In the Primates' Meeting, the Primates and Moderators are called to work as representatives of their Provinces in collaboration with one another in mission and in doctrinal, moral and pastoral matters that have Communion-wide implications.

It is the responsibility of each Instrument to consult with, respond to, and support each other Instrument and the Churches of the Communion<sup>20</sup>. Each Instrument may initiate and commend a process of discernment and a direction for the Communion and its Churches.

<sup>17</sup> Constitution of the ACC, Article 3 and Schedule

<sup>18</sup> *id.* the Objects of the ACC are set out in Article 2 of its Constitution.

<sup>19</sup> Report of the Windsor Continuation Group, 69.

<sup>20</sup> *id.* IATOC, Communion, Conflict and Hope, paragraph 113.

## 6 Unity of the Communion

- (1) in essential matters of common concern, to have regard to the common good of the Communion in the exercise of its autonomy, and to support the work of the Instruments of Communion with the spiritual and material resources available to it.

- (2) to spend time with openness and patience in matters of theological debate and discernment to listen and to study with one another in order to comprehend the will of God. Such study and debate is an essential feature of the life of the Church as its seeks to be led by the Spirit into all truth and to proclaim the Gospel afresh in each generation. Some issues, which are perceived as controversial or new when they arise, may well evoke a deeper understanding of the implications of God's revelation to us; others may prove to be distractions or even obstacles to the faith: all therefore need to be tested by shared discernment in the life of the Church.
- (3) to seek with other members, through the Church's shared councils, a common mind about matters of essential concern, consistent with the Scriptures, common standards of faith, and the canon law of our churches.
- (4) to heed the counsel of our Instruments of Communion in matters which threaten the unity of the Communion and the effectiveness of our mission. While the Instruments of Communion have no juridical or executive authority in our Provinces, we recognise them as those bodies by which our common life in Christ is articulated and sustained, and which therefore carry a moral authority which commands our respect.
- (5) to seek the guidance of the Instruments of Communion, where there are matters in serious dispute among churches that cannot be resolved by mutual admonition and counsel.

1. by submitting the matter to the Primates Meeting
2. if the Primates believe that the matter is not one for which a common mind has been articulated, they will seek it with the other instruments and their councils
3. finally, on this basis, the Primates will offer guidance and direction.

- (6) We acknowledge that in the most extreme circumstances, where member churches choose not to fulfill the substance of the covenant as understood by the Councils of the Instruments of Communion, we will consider that such churches will have relinquished for themselves the force and meaning of the covenant's purpose, and a process of restoration and renewal will be required to re-establish their covenant relationship with other member churches.

With joy and with firm resolve, we declare our Churches to be partners in this Anglican Covenant, releasing ourselves for fruitful service and binding ourselves more closely in the truth and love of Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory for ever. Amen.

3.2 Acknowledging our interdependent life, each Church of the Communion commits itself:

- (3.2.1) to have regard to the common good of the Communion in the exercise of its autonomy, and to support the work of the Instruments of Communion with the spiritual and material resources available to it;
- (3.2.2) to respect the constitutional autonomy of all of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, while upholding the interdependent life and mutual responsibility of the Churches, and the responsibility of each to the Communion as a whole<sup>12</sup>;
- (3.2.3) to spend time with openness and patience in matters of theological debate and reflection to listen, pray and study with one another in order to discern the will of God. Such prayer, study and debate is an essential feature of the life of the Church as its seeks to be led by the Spirit into all truth and to proclaim the Gospel afresh in each generation. Some issues, which are perceived as controversial or new when they arise, may well evoke a deeper understanding of the implications of God's revelation to us; others may prove to be distractions or even obstacles to the faith: all therefore need to be tested by shared discernment in the life of the Church.
- (3.2.4) to seek with other Churches, through the Communion's shared councils, a common mind about matters understood to be of essential concern, consistent with the Scriptures, common standards of faith, and the canon law of our churches.
- (3.2.5) to act with diligence, care and caution in respect to actions, either proposed or enacted, at a provincial or local level, which, in its own view or the expressed view of any Province or in the view of any one of the Instruments of Communion, are deemed to threaten the unity of the Communion and the effectiveness or credibility of its mission, and to consent to the following principles and procedural elements:
- (3.2.5.a) to undertake wide consultation with the other churches of the Anglican Communion and with the Instruments and Commissions of the Communion;

- (3.2.5.b) to accept the legitimacy of processes for communion-wide evaluation which any of the Instruments of Communion may commission, according to such procedures as are appended to this covenant;

- (3.2.5.c) to be ready to participate in mediated conversation between parties, which may be in conflict, according to such procedures as are appended to this covenant;
- (3.2.5.d) to be willing to receive from the Instruments of Communion a request to adopt a particular course of action in respect of the matter under dispute. While the Instruments of Communion have no legislative, executive or judicial authority in our Provinces, except where provided in their own laws, we recognise them as those bodies by which our common life in Christ is articulated and sustained, and which therefore carry a moral authority which commands our respect.
- (3.2.5.e) Any such request would not be binding on a Church unless recognised as such by that Church. However, commitment to this covenant entails an acknowledgement that in the most extreme circumstances, where a Church chooses not to adopt the request of the Instruments of Communion, that decision may be understood by the Church itself, or by the resolution of the Instruments of Communion, as a relinquishment by that Church of the force and meaning of the covenant's purpose, until they re-establish their covenant relationship with other member Churches.
- (3.2.6) to have in mind that our bonds of affection and the love of Christ compel us always to seek the highest possible degree of communion.

With joy and with firm resolve, we declare our Churches to be partakers in this Anglican Covenant, offering ourselves for fruitful service and binding ourselves more closely in the truth and love of Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory for ever. Amen.

3.2 Acknowledging our interdependent life, each Church, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself:

- (3.2.1) to have regard for the common good of the Communion in the exercise of its autonomy, to support the work of the Instruments of Communion with the spiritual and material resources available to it, and to receive their work with a readiness to undertake reflection upon their counsels, and to endeavour to accommodate their recommendations.
- (3.2.2) to respect the constitutional autonomy of all of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, while upholding our mutual responsibility and interdependence in the Body of Christ<sup>21</sup>, and the responsibility of each to the Communion as a whole<sup>22</sup>.
- (3.2.3) to spend time with openness and patience in matters of theological debate and reflection, to listen, pray and study with one another in order to discern the will of God. Such prayer, study and debate is an essential feature of the life of the Church as its seeks to be led by the Spirit into all truth and to proclaim the gospel afresh in each generation. Some issues, which are perceived as controversial or new when they arise, may well evoke a deeper understanding of the implications of God's revelation to us; others may prove to be distractions or even obstacles to the faith. All such matters therefore need to be tested by shared discernment in the life of the Church.
- (3.2.4) to seek a shared mind with other Churches, through the Communion's councils, about matters of common concern, in a way consistent with the Scriptures, the common standards of faith, and the canon laws of our churches. Each Church will undertake wide consultation with the other Churches of the Anglican Communion and with the Instruments and Commissions of the Communion.
- (3.2.5) to act with diligence, care and caution in respect of any action which may provoke controversy, which by its intensity, substance or extent could threaten the unity of the Communion and the effectiveness or credibility of its mission.

- (3.2.6) in situations of conflict, to participate in mediated conversations, which involve face to face meetings, agreed parameters and a willingness to see such processes through.
- (3.2.7) to have in mind that our bonds of affection and the love of Christ compel us always to uphold the highest degree of communion possible.

Each Church affirms the following procedures, and, reliant on the Holy Spirit, commits itself to their implementation.

- 4.1 Adoption of the Covenant
- (4.1.1) Each Church adopting this Covenant affirms that it enters into the Covenant as a commitment to relationship in submission to God. Participation in the covenant expresses a loyalty grounded in mutuality that one Church freely offers to other Churches, in whom it recognises the bonds of a common faith and order, a common inheritance in worship, life and mission, and a readiness to live in an interdependent life, but does not represent submission to any external ecclesiastical jurisdiction.
- (4.1.2) In adopting the Covenant for itself, each Church recognises in the preceding sections a statement of faith, mission and interdependence of life which is consistent with its own life and with the doctrine and practice of the Christian faith as it has received them. It recognises these elements as fundamental to the life of the Anglican Communion and to the relationships among the covenanting Churches.
- (4.1.3) The Covenant operates to express the common commitments which hold each Church in the relationship of communion one with another. Recognition of, and fidelity to, the text of this Covenant, enables mutual recognition and communion. Nothing in this Covenant of itself shall be deemed to alter any provision of the Constitution and Canons of any Church of the Communion, or to limit its autonomy of governance. Under the terms of this Covenant, no one Church, nor any agency of the Communion, can exercise control or direction over the internal life of any other covenanted Church.
- (4.1.4) Every Church of the Anglican Communion, as recognised in accordance with the Constitution of the Anglican Consultative Council, is invited to adopt this Covenant in its life according to its own constitutional procedures. Adoption of the Covenant



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(4.1.4) Every Church of the Anglican Communion, as recognised in accordance with the Constitution of the Anglican Consultative Council, is invited to adopt this Covenant in its life according to its own constitutional procedures. Adoption of the Covenant by a Church does not in itself imply any change to its Constitution and Canons, but implies a recognition of those elements which must be maintained in its own life in order to sustain the relationship of covenanted communion established by this Covenant.

(4.1.5) It shall be open to other Churches to adopt the Covenant. Adoption of this Covenant does not bring any right of recognition by, or membership of, the Instruments of Communion. Such recognition and membership are dependent on the satisfaction of those conditions set out by each of the Instruments. However, adoption of the Covenant by a Church may be accompanied by a formal request to the Instruments for recognition and membership to be acted upon according to each Instrument's procedures. (4.1.6) This Covenant becomes active for a Church when that Church adopts the Covenant.

### 4.2 The Maintenance of the Covenant and Dispute Resolution

(4.2.1) The Joint Standing Committee of the Anglican Consultative Council and of the Primates' Meeting, or any body that succeeds it, shall have the duty of overseeing the functioning of the Covenant in the life of the Anglican Communion. The Joint Standing Committee may nominate or appoint another committee or commission to assist in carrying out this function and to advise it on questions relating to the Covenant.

(4.2.2) If a question relating to the meaning of the Covenant, or of compatibility to the principles incorporated in it, should arise, the Joint Standing Committee may make a request to any covenanting Church to defer action until the processes set out below have been completed. It shall further take advice from such bodies as it feels appropriate on the nature and relational consequences of the matter and may make a recommendation to be referred for advice to both the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates' Meeting.

(4.2.3) If a Church refuses to defer a controversial action, the Joint Standing Committee may recommend to any Instrument of Communion relational consequences which specify a provisional limitation of participation in, or suspension from, that Instrument until the completion of the process set out below.

(4.2.4) On the basis of advice received from the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates' Meeting, the Joint Standing Committee may make a declaration concerning an action or decision of a covenanting Church that such an action or decision is or would be "incompatible with the Covenant". A declaration of incompatibility with the Covenant shall not have any force in the Constitution and Canons of any covenanting Church unless or until it is received by the canonical procedures of the Church in question.

(4.2.5) On the basis of the advice received, the Joint Standing Committee may make recommendations as to relational consequences to the Churches of the Anglican Communion or to the Instruments of the Communion. These recommendations may address the extent to which the decision of any covenanting Church to continue with an action or decision which has been found to be "incompatible with the Covenant" impairs or limits the communion between that Church and the other Churches of the Communion. It may recommend whether such action or decision should have a consequence for participation in the life of the Communion and its Instruments. It shall be for each Church and each Instrument to determine its own response to such recommendations.

(4.2.6) Each Church undertakes to put into place such mechanisms, agencies or institutions, consistent with its own Constitution and Canons, as can undertake to oversee the maintenance of the affirmations and commitments of the Covenant in the life of that Church, and to relate to the Instruments of Communion on matters pertinent to the Covenant.

(4.2.7) Participation in the processes set out in this section shall be limited to those members of the Instruments of Communion who are representatives of those churches who have adopted the Covenant, or who are still in the process of adoption.

### 4.3 Withdrawing from the Covenant

(4.3.1) Any covenanting Church may decide to withdraw from the Covenant. Although such withdrawal does not imply an automatic withdrawal from the Instruments or a repudiation of its Anglican character, it raises a question relating to the meaning of the Covenant, and of compatibility with the principles incorporated within it, and it triggers the provisions set out in section 4.2.2 above.

#### 4.4 The Covenant Text and its amendment

(4.4.1) The Covenant consists of the text set out in this document in the Preamble, Sections One to Four and the Declaration. The Introduction to the Covenant Text, which shall always be annexed to the Covenant text, is not part of the Covenant, but shall be accorded authority in understanding the purpose of the Covenant.

(4.4.2) Any covenanting Church or Instrument of Communion may submit a proposal to the Joint Standing Committee for the amendment of the Covenant. The Joint Standing Committee shall send the proposal to the Anglican Consultative Council, to the Primates' Meeting and any other body as it may consider appropriate for advice. The Joint Standing Committee shall make a recommendation on the proposal in the light of advice offered, and submit the proposal with any revisions to the constitutional bodies of the covenanting Churches. The amendment is operative when ratified by three quarters of such bodies. The Joint Standing Committee shall adopt a procedure for promulgation of the amendment.

### Our Declaration

With joy and with firm resolve, we declare our Churches to be partakers in this Anglican Communion Covenant, offering ourselves for fruitful service and binding ourselves more closely in the truth and love of Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory for ever. Amen.

*"Now may the God of Peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant, make you complete in everything good so that you may do his will, working among us that which is pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory forever and ever. Amen." (Hebrews 13.20, 21)*